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EDITED BY J. Y. W. MACALISTER AND
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THE LIBRARY.

THE LIBRARY OF PRINTED BOOKS IN WORCESTER CATHEDRAL.

THE library of Worcester Cathedral is at present in the triforium of the seven eastern bays of the south aisle of the nave. It is approached by a circular stone staircase in the south-west turret of the south aisle of the nave. The original entrance to this staircase is from the cathedral itself. This is now blocked by a gas-meter. The present entrance was made, at some date not as yet ascertained, from the passage which leads from the north-west corner of the cloister towards the west end of the cathedral.

This staircase leads by forty steps to the triforium of the two western, or late Norman, bays of the nave: this now serves as an ante-chamber to the library proper. It contains many carved stones removed in the recent restoration of the cathedral, and a few drawings and prints and plans relating to the history of the cathedral, which were placed here by the present librarian. The library itself is 121 ft. long, and 19 ft. 2 in. wide. It is lit by twelve square-headed windows in its south wall,

looking over the cloisters. Of these the westernmost has one light, the easternmost has three lights; the remaining ten windows, lighting the five central bays of the library, have two lights each. The room had its roof raised in the last century, and it also shows traces of a partition which screened off 37 ft. at its western end. This is said to have been removed about the year 1866. The room has recently been partially lighted by electricity.

The book-cases containing the older books cover the north, east, and west walls, and all the available space of the south wall in the easternmost and westernmost bays. They are roughly backed with oak or deal. There are also book-cases, containing modern books, standing out into the room from the spaces between the windows of the south wall; and four cases of shelves with locked doors, containing muniments and the incunabula and a few selected books, occupying a similar position.

THE THREE COLLECTIONS IN THE LIBRARY.

The library now contains three distinct collections:

1. The valuable mediæval MS. library of 277 volumes, dating from the eleventh to the sixteenth century. These are in locked cupboards below the shelves against the north wall.
2. The collection of printed books, numbering about 4,350, on the old shelves, catalogued A to Z, and about 1,200 in the shelves

subsequently added. This does not include some series of journals, quarterlies, etc.

3. The muniments spoken of above, consisting of volumes of manuscripts, historical or financial; charters and indentures; rolls and accounts of officers of the convent, or bailiffs; correspondence; and manor or court rolls. These last are the property of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, as they refer to property transferred to them in 1859. The muniments were removed to the library from the Edgar Tower, and for the first time were arranged and catalogued, in 1907.

The first of these collections has been most carefully catalogued and described by the Rev. J. K. Floyer, formerly a minor canon and librarian (1898-1903), in conjunction with Mr. S. G. Hamilton, librarian of Hertford College, Oxford. This catalogue was printed in 1903 as part of the Transactions of the Worcestershire Historical Society. Mr. Floyer has given in the preface all the early history of the library, so far as it is known. The remaining copies of this valuable catalogue are deposited in the library on sale, the proceeds to be given from time to time to the treasurer of the Historical Society.

The third of these collections has been very briefly described in the introduction to a paper on 'The Accounts of the Priory of Worcester,' by the present librarian, printed in 1907 as part of the Transactions of the same Society. Parts of the

catalogue also are printed in the Transactions for 1907 and 1909.

It is the second of these collections alone, that of the printed books, of which I propose to give a brief history. But a few words may be said of the earlier history of the library.

ORIGIN OF THE LIBRARY.

It is commonly said (Green, 'History of Worcester,' vol. i., p. 79) that the first mention of the Worcester Cathedral Library is in Heming's 'Chartulary,' vol. i., pages 261-2. From this it is contended that "Godiva, the wife of Leofric, Duke of Mercia, upon the death of her husband in 1057, among other presents which she made to the Church of Worcester to obtain their consent that she should hold certain possessions during her life, which Leofric had promised to restore to the monks at his decease, gave them a library "—'pro remedio anime ipsius et sue Bibliothecam in duabus partibus divisam.' But the word 'Bibliotheca' had become the common name for a Bible. (See Ducange 'in Voc.'). Jerome, for example, says 'sacris Bibliothecæ codicibus abundamus.' Maitland ('Dark Ages,' p. 194) quotes from catalogues such entries as 'Bibliotheca integra ubi continentur XXXII libri in uno volumine,' and 'Bibliotheca dispersa in voluminibus XIV.' Dugdale's 'Monasticon' tells us that in A.D. 780 King Offa gave to our Church certain manors 'et bibliothecam optimam cum duabus armillis ex auro purissimo fabricatis.'

Godiva, therefore, gave the monks, not a library, but a Bible in two volumes. That there was a library long before 1057 is made probable by the fragments of writings of Gregory, Jerome, Isidore and others, of the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, recently collected from the bindings of books of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries in the library, and placed in a case in the cathedral.

THE EARLY MIGRATIONS OF THE LIBRARY.

It is not, I think, now possible to trace all the removals of the books. Mr. Floyer, as the result of a careful examination of the earlier evidence, concludes that 'the library from the twelfth to the end of the fourteenth century was housed chiefly in a room on an upper floor over the south aisle at the extreme west, and partly in aumbries in the cloisters' (Introduction to Catalogue, p. xi.). This room is, of course, the triforium of the two western bays, now the ante-chamber of the library.

In the last quarter of the fourteenth century the old Norman south side of the nave, with the exception of the two western bays, was pulled down, and replaced by the present perpendicular arcade and aisle and triforium. This probably necessitated a removal of the books. In the 'Chronologia Ædificiorum' (A. XII. f. 77. b), under date 1377, we read, 'Hoc anno sacrista qui supra (Joh. Lyndsey) fecit voltam in navi ecclesie. Eodem anno mense Augusti novum dormitorium cum lectis, thesauraria ac libraria sub fratre Willelmo Power consummatum.'

What and where was this library? Noake ('Cath. and Mon.,' p. 410) thinks that this old library was either a building over the cloister passage, or against the outside of the west cloister. There are, however, no traces of a room over the cloister passage, such as might be expected in the outer wall of the triforium had a room been built against it. There may have been a room against the wall of the west cloister; but there is no clear proof of it. It seems, however, to be implied that there was a library other than the triforium of the nave.

In the volume of Compotus Rolls of our Priory, printed by Mr. S. G. Hamilton in the Transactions of the Worcestershire Historical Society for 1909, p. 18, we have, in the accounts of William Power, Cellerarius, 1376-7 (C. 69), some entries that may help to throw light on this question. For example, under the heading 'Custus domorum intra foras et extra,' we have the items:

'In 2000 tegulis emptis pro domo librarii. In emendatione fenestrarum vitrearum in refectoria et misericordia. 6s. 8d.'; and on p. 21, 'In repagulis factis pro fenestris librarie et thesaurarie ac vertivellis et hamis pro eisdem. 11d.' An examination of the rest of the twenty-three cellarers' rolls of the fourteenth century, which still survive in our collection, may bring further facts to light. They are very difficult to read, and the parts of the roll which contain the 'Custus domorum' have suffered specially. In the account, for example, of Robert Stanes, precentor, 1384-5 (C. 364), published in the same volume, we have the entry:

'Item in diversis libris de novo ligandis et emendandis viz. albo et rubro coriis—pro predictis libris 3s. 4d.' And in his inventory there is an item: '1 cultellum ad planandos libros ligatos cum aliis diversis parvis instrumentis.' But this entry probably refers only to service books, which would be in the care of the precentor.

As far as I can see, the position of the library at the end of the fourteenth century must be regarded as not known. The tradition in Noake's time is perhaps worth recording, that 'the doorway which led up to this library is said to be that in the west cloister, near the large door of the dormitory, and north of it.' See Plan in Thomas's 'Worcester Cathedral.'

Green tells us (vol. i., p. 79) that 'it was not till the prelacy of Bishop Carpenter that a regular establishment of a library appears to have taken place for the use of the convent. In 1461, June 24, that prelate erected a library in the charnel house adjoining to his cathedral; and Jan. 24 following endowed it to the value of ten pounds per annum for a library keeper. This event in the Register of that Bishop is dated as above; see vol. i., p. 175. But in Abingdon's account of the charnel house he has placed the same occurrence A.D. 1459, 37 Hen. VI.'[1]

[1] Mr. Floyer, to whom I sent this paper in MS., wrote me the following interesting and suggestive note: 'I came decidedly to the conclusion that Bishop Carpenter's foundation of a library was quite distinct from the monastic library, and that they were never fused. Carpenter's was a public library; and the books were always chained in public libraries, but, I think, never in a monastic library. Then, I think I remember some evidence that this library, in spite of its fine inception, never came into proper working.

The books in the monastic library would, of course, have been in the first instance manuscripts. But as time went on printed books would gradually be added. The only passage I have as yet come across in our records that alludes to any of these, is a record of a gift by Prior Moore, in A. xii. fol. 3: 'Item delyvered to the clyster Awmery speculum spiritualium ij^{s}.' The entry occurs in an inventory or list of the prior's purchases of books for his own library. This is of such interest that I give the list complete in an Appendix.

THE GROWTH OF THE LIBRARY AND ITS HISTORY TILL THE RESTORATION OF 1660.

The main source of information for what next follows is the series of Acts of Chapter, lately transferred from the Edgar Tower to the library. I had made some progress in the study of these, and in making a collection of extracts, when I found in a locked cupboard in the library a manuscript volume, labelled on the back 'Statuta Bibliothecæ C.C.V.,' in the handwriting of Mr. J. H. Hooper, chapter clerk, who was also librarian from 17th April, 1880, to 1st January, 1898, nearly eighteen years. This manuscript volume consists of a series of

Was not the foundation deed found wanting in 1513? and were not things very badly administered? My idea about this Carnaria was that it flourished very feebly, that the library part of it died, and that it was used simply as a choir school afterwards under the Master of the Chapel (*cf.* Mackenzie Walcott's Inventory of Worcester Cathedral, sixteenth century, from Harl. MS. 604, fol. 102). No books are now in the library which have any mark of having belonged there.'

extracts from the Chapter Orders, chronologically arranged, copied with great care from the minute books of the Chapter. More will be said later on of Mr. Hooper's work as librarian. Here I will only say that I have verified many of his extracts, comparing them with mine, and I have found no errors and but few omissions. I think, therefore, we may regard this manuscript book as containing all, or nearly all, the Chapter Orders relating to the library. Some but not all of the following extracts are taken from Mr. Hooper's volume.

The first entry is under date 25th November, 1611. 'An Indenture of Covenant sealed to Mr. John Babington, Bishop Babington's[1] son and heir, to employ the bookes given to the librairie by his father to the use of the Church and for ever fullie to preserve them.' And on 16th December, 1611, 'A bond of Cli (£100) decreed to be sealed to and for John Babington, Esq., for performance of covenants concerning the safe keeping of the books in the library.' Many of these books can be identified.

In this year a 'Great Bible of the New translation' was bought, probably for use in the cathedral, for 58s. (A. xxvi.). It does not appear in our catalogue.

We may safely infer from these minutes that the library was at that time well cared for and progressing; and it is probable that our early printed books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries had for the most part been acquired prior to this date. It may be that an examination of the individual books will reveal the names of some of

[1] Gervase Babington, Bishop of Worcester, 1597-1610.

the early donors, or the dates of purchase by the library fund. There is no proof that I know of to show where these books were housed.

On 25th November, 1623, is an entry of considerable interest: 'A graunt to my Lord Keeper of such Manuscripts as wee have double in our librarie towards the furnishing of his librarie at Westminster.' This was followed on 23rd February, 1624, by the following Chapter Order:

'Whereas letters from his Majesty directed unto us under the Great Seale of England for all such dubble manuscripts as we have dubble in our librairie towards the furnishing of a librarie in the Church of Westminster newly erected or augmented by the nowe Lord Keeper Where uppon wee consented as by our Chapter Act bearing date the XXVth day of November 1623 doth appear Nowe wee whose names are subscribed by virtue of the said letters and consent of the Dean and Chapter as by a letter from Mr. Deane unto us of the Chapter bearing date the XXIInd day of January 1624 have sent upp the said manuscripts unto Mr. Deane to London for the better conveying thereof, and to the said purpose appointed.'

Then follows a list of eighteen manuscript volumes, including 'Augustinus de civitate Dei' and 'Gregorii Cura Pastoralis.' The document is signed by Richardus Potter, Subdecanus, W. Barkerdale, Receiver, and Henry Bright. The last-named was doubtless the librarian, and also the learned head master, 'celeberrimus gymnasiarcha,' of the King's Cathedral School, from 1591-1626, and for the last seven years a canon of the cathedral. His

monument is close to the north door of the cathedral. He died on 6th March, 1626.

Such an interesting episode in the story of the library, as the gift, under letters from the king, of manuscripts to Westminster Abbey, is well worth recording, though it has no immediate reference to our printed books.

In 1634 Archbishop Laud visited the cathedral. An account of his visitation may be seen in the 'Victoria County History,' vol. ii, p. 62. One of his orders is 'that the chapel called "Capella Carnaria," situate at the entry of your cathedral, now profaned and made a hay-barn, be restored and employed to the wonted use.'[1] The books must therefore have at this time been housed elsewhere than in the 'Capella.'

This chapel belonged to the dean and chapter, but ever since the dissolution of the monastery, that is for a hundred years, they had connived at its use by the bishop as a hay-barn. But at this time there was little love lost between the bishop and the chapter; and Laud's orders gave the dean and chapter an admirable opportunity for annoying the bishop: and the incident throws some light on the situation of the library at that date. The next entry concerning the library in the Acts of Chapter is, therefore, of much interest.

27th October, 1636. 'It is decreed that the

[1] It had been leased to Bishop Whitgift in 1578 for twenty-one years at the rent of 6s. 8d., if the bishop should remain at Worcester. The lease was renewed in 1586 to Roger Folliott for forty years. This lease expired in 1626, and Bishop Thornborough (1617-41) used it as a hay-barn.

Chappell called Capella Carnaria shall be fitted up for the Schole House, and that the Schole House that now is shall be converted into a Librairie, and a dore made thereinto out of the Cloyster; and that as soon as conveniently may be parte of the house which is now Dr. Steward's shall be provided for the Schole master.'

What and where was the 'Schole house that now is'? and which is the 'dore thereinto out of the Cloyster'? The only passage in our muniments that I have met with that throws light on it is in A. xvi., p. 36, a document apparently of a few years' later date, possibly written by the Worcester historian Habingdon.[1] 'Now of late they removed the famous grammar Schole which hath in this age byn equal with the best in England from the place which was once the Refectorie of the Monastery within the College of Worcester to this Chappell of the Charnel House which is without the Cathedral Church.'

This proves that the refectory was then the school, and that the door made in 1637 out of the cloister was the door near the east end of the south cloister. The door near the west end of that cloister is of much earlier date.

The change of plan for school and library was made in 1637. The bishop, in obedience to Laud, delivered the hay-barn to Mr. Tomkins, the prebendary, who 'promised,' as the bishop wrote to Laud, 'that the same should be converted to

[1] See Hist. MSS. Commission, 14th Report, Appendix, Part viii., p. 184. This document has been published in the Transactions of the Worcestershire Historical Society.

prayers at six in the morning. But Mr. Tomkins removed all things of the spacious old School into this little chapel' : and, 'as it was joining on to the Bishop's Court,' the bishop pleaded 'that he should be much disquieted by the noise of the two hundred boys : besides which there will be more profanation by swearing and lying among the boys than when the hay was in it.'

The books were therefore ordered to be removed into 'the Schole house that now is.' But even if this order was carried out, they did not remain there long ; for the troubles of the Commonwealth are at hand, and in 1641 the school was moved back to the refectory.

It may be noted here in passing that Dean Mainwaring in 1635 'preserved thousands of rolls lying in the tower, removing them from a damp stone wall, and from under a window where the rain beat in on them.' 'Vict. County History,' ii., p. 63. This shows that the muniments and charters, then far more numerous than they are now, were in the Edgar Tower, and much neglected.

So many of our books bear the name of John Prideaux that a word must now be said of him, as he belongs to this period. John Prideaux, the learned Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, was consecrated Bishop of Worcester in 1641, but within two years was deprived of his revenues for 'adhering to his Majesty at the time of the Civil War.' The library possesses many of his books, but whether by gift, bequest, or purchase, I find no record. It is said that he lived at Bredon till 1658, where he died in great poverty, selling his

books one by one to provide himself with food. Wood, in his 'Athenæ Oxonienses,' says: 'He became at length *verus helluo librorum:* for having first by indefatigable studies digested his excellent library with his mind, was after forced again to devour all his books with his teeth, turning them by a miraculous faith and patience into bread for himself and his children.'

To return now to the story of the library. During all the disturbances of the period of the Commonwealth, it seems probable that the books were taken up into the old library over the south aisle for safe custody. For in 1661-2 the library must have been there. Floyer notes that this is proved by the accounts for work done at that date. For some years after 1660 the necessary repairs to the cathedral after the frightful ravages of the Parliamentarians occupied the dean and chapter, and in particular its memorable treasurer, Mr. Barnabas Oley. There was no money to spare for books. On 17th October, 1666, it was further ordered 'that the office or place of keeping the library shall cease, and that no Salary, Stipend or Pension be henceforth allowed for the same.'

HISTORY FROM 1675 TO 1771. DR. HOPKINS.

On 22nd March, 1675, William Hopkins was installed as a prebendary of the first stall in our cathedral; and for twenty-five years, till his death on 18th May, 1700, he devoted himself and his great abilities to the interests of the cathedral and its library. How great all his services were may

be seen in the preface to a published volume of his sermons, written as a memoir by his former friend and colleague, the learned Dr. George Hickes,[1] now in our library (S.H. 18), from which preface the following details are gathered and extracts made. It is well worth reading in its entirety. Dr. Hickes relates Dr. Hopkins' great services in assisting him to manage the revenues, and administer the government and discipline of the church, the chapter, and the school in those very difficult days. 'He was particularly esteemed,' the dean writes, 'by Mr. Barnabas Oley, the Senior Prebendary of venerable memory; and it is no small honour for His to have it known that he had the Love and Reverence and Praise of that Saint-like Man.'

Here I must confine myself to what he did for the library, by quoting from Hickes's Preface, pp. xxii.-xxiv.:

He endeavoured to promote both human and divine knowledge. Of this he hath left a proof, and as it were a monument in the Church of Worcester; I mean the Library there, which by his solicitation was removed from an inconvenient Place over the South-Isle of the Church into the Chapter-House, a large, beautiful, lightsome and spacious Room, of easier access to the infirm, and much safer for tender Constitutions to spend their Time in.[2]

[1] Dr. Hickes was Dean of Worcester, 1683-91, and then was deprived as a non-juror. He was a man of vast learning and industry. He died 1715.

[2] It appears, however, from the Acta Capituli for 1671 that in that year the chapter resolved that the fines were to be expended towards the fitting of the Chapter House for the use of a library. The removal had, therefore, been decided on before Dr. Hopkins became canon.

After the translation of it to that Place, he endeavoured by all means to increase its Stock; and, to that end, with the Dean and Chapter, found ways of raising a constant Supply of Money to buy good Books of all Sorts. He was also wont all my Time to beg Money for it; and by his acquaintance with London-Merchants, procured books which were rare in England, at easie Rates from Italy, Spain, and France: which so offended our good Friend Mr. Robert Scot of Little Britain, that he was very angry with us, and in his Passion told me he would complain to the King, whose Bookseller he had the Honour to be. I take this occasion to mention that good and worthy Man for his Honour, who for about twenty Years, in many hazardous voyages successively, brought more good Books and Learning with them from foreign Parts into England, than perhaps all the English Booksellers for the last hundred Years. But to return to my dear Friend's Mistress, the Library of the Church of Worcester.

A little before I left the place, we had procured a fine collection of the Bibliothecarian Writers of several countries with which he was much pleased, and I suppose never left off till he completed them; and as for the Works of the Greek Fathers, as I remember, they were all in that Library excepting those of Cyril of Alexandria, which I suppose are since procured.[1] He also took particular care to stock the Library with Writers of the Middle Ages, and I doubt not but that by this time (1708) if the same care of it hath been continued, it may pass after the publick Libraries in our two famous Universities, for one of the best furnished with printed Books, as it was with MSS. and ancient Charters before the great Rebellion. And as in his life time he took particular care to furnish and adorn it, so in his last Will and Testament, besides other charitable Legacies, he gave Ten pounds to buy books for it, thereby testifying how much he desired the Riches of it should always increase.

[1] They were soon added.

It is plain from this extract that the library owes much to Dean Hickes, and even more to Prebendary William Hopkins, who deserves, as we shall find, to rank as its greatest benefactor.

Dr. Hopkins' influence begins, in fact, to show itself immediately in the care and augmentation of the library: and from the date of his appointment we have another source of information as to the library available, besides the Acts of Chapter—I mean the manuscript catalogue of gifts to the library. It will perhaps be best for me now to describe this catalogue of gifts, and then return to such history as may be gleaned from the Acts of Chapter; and finally to describe the formation of our existing catalogue.

Dr. Hopkins began by providing a large quarto volume in parchment, strongly bound, with metal clasps and corner guards. That book begins as follows:

'The Names of the Benefactors contributing towards furnishing the Library of the Cathedral Church of Worcester A.D. 1675. The Right Reverend Father in God Walter, Bishop of Worcester gave these books following': and then follows a list of forty-one books in all, beginning with 'Josephi Opera Graeco-Latina.' One of the books is 'Breviarium Romanum,' vol. ii., against which is a note in a contemporary hand, 'never brought into the library.'

Then follow the names of the Dean, William Thomas, and of certain of the prebendaries, Mr. Barnabas Oley, Mr. Edward Reynolds, Mr. William Thornburgh, Mr. Henry Gresley, Mr. William

Hopkins, and Dr. George Benson, and the lists of the books or money they gave. The lists of Hopkins and Benson were very long. Benson was also Dean of Hereford, and in his list of books is 'Breviarium Secundum usum Hereford,' the rarest, I believe, of the printed books in our library.

Then follow gifts of money or of books from Sir Henry Littleton, Bart., the Lady Mary Stanhope, and others. Thomas Lord Foliott gave many volumes. Thomas Vernon, principal registrar of this diocese, gave Sir Thomas More's works and 'A fair gilt dish to collect the offerings at the altar.'

During Hopkins' lifetime till the end of the seventeenth century the gifts to the library were large: but they continued on a considerable scale through the eighteenth century, especially from Bishops Lloyd and Stillingfleet and the prebendaries of the cathedral. The gifts are recorded in the same volume down to 16th January, 1869, the last entry being the 'Monastery and Cathedral of Worcester,' by John Noake, presented by the author.

Besides this manuscript list of gifts of money and books, there was another volume in manuscript started in 1835 of books lately added to the library, apparently purchased by a library fund. It starts with Facciolati's Lexicon, two vols. (Z.B. 3, 4), and ends in 1843 with the Zurich Letters, thirty-six books in all.

I will now return to the other source of information as to the library, the minutes of the Acts of Chapter, resuming this study at the date of the coming of Dr. Hopkins.

On 23rd June, 1676, by a chapter order, 'A Peticanon, Mr. R. Smith, is appointed to be keeper of the Library, his salary of £4 a year to be paid out of the fines till some better expedient be found. He shall take an exact survey of the books the first Monday in every month; and once at every Midsummer Chapter and Audit the Library shall be visited by one of the Prebendaries.' This rescinds the order of ten years before. Also it was ordered that every one should 'subscribe before he be admitted to make use of the library.' A scale of fees is established in 1681 to be paid to the treasurer for the use of the library on installation to any office. The dean was to pay £6 13s. 4d.; each prebendary £2; each schoolmaster, minor canon and lay clerk 10s.; every clerk presented to a living 13s. 4d., and every verger, sexton, bailiff, and other persons the sum of 6s. 8d. In 1682 the sub-dean is to be auditor and library keeper, but to give his fee of £4 to the deputy library keeper. In the following years, 1683-4-5-7, are orders by which the fees for interment, and for erecting monuments, and fines payable by the dean and prebendaries for curtailing their residence, be paid to the library, the dean paying £5, and each prebendary £2 10s. for each week's failure.

There does not appear to have been as yet a separate catalogue of the books. But there is on our shelves a copy of the Bodleian Catalogue of 1674, two volumes, interleaved and bound in four volumes folio, in which are entered the names of books in our library. It is suggested by Mr. Beriah Botfield, in his 'Notes on Cathedral Libraries,'

1849 (N.F. 17), 'that this was formerly intended to supply the place of a catalogue.' I am told that the Bodleian Catalogue was frequently so used.

In 1699 there were fresh proofs of much care for the library. It is ordered 'that the rooms over the North Porch and Jesus Chapel be fitted up for a Manuscript Library and an Evidence Room'; and 'that the Treasurer do pay to Mr. Thwayts the sum of £10 towards the charges of printing the Charters of this Church.'

On 18th May in 1700, Mr. Hopkins died. 'He was interred in the North part of the Cross-Isle of the Cathedral Church in a grave close by that of his first wife near the Door of his House, which opens into the Church.' The epitaph on his gravestone is preserved by Hickes, and also by Browne Willis; but the stone is not now to be seen.[1] A brass tablet now preserves his memory.

In the following years there are orders made which indicate that the library was neglected. In 1705 the salary to the librarian is suspended till the books are catalogued; in 1706-11-16, fresh regulations are made; but little progress is apparently the result.

In 1748 a crisis seems to have arisen in the condition of the school buildings; for on 1st October we have the order 'that all the workmen now employed about the repairs of the college School be discharged and nothing more done till

[1] The inscription is: 'M S./Gulielmi Hopkins S.T.P./ecclesiæ Wigorniensis 24 annos Prebendarii/qui obiit 18 die Maii, An. Salutis 1700/ætatis sua 53.

further order. Agreed that all the Canons here present do take a view of the room called the Old Library, and if they think it proper and suitable order it to be put in repair, and fitted up for the use of a School accordingly.'

The school therefore appears to have occupied the present library in the south triforium for a while, perhaps not for the first time. Green (I. 79) says that 'the ancient parvis or School was kept in one of the rooms over the S. aisle.' The dates carved in the walls of the library are as follows: Four of 1721; one of 1722; one of 1740; one of 1746; two of 1748; one of 1774; one of 1808. These do not throw any very clear light on the occupation of the triforium by the school.

A few years after this period the Dean and Chapter are much troubled by the misuse of the library by those who are permitted to use it. They 'tear, rend, blot, erase, interline or write in the margin or vacant pages.' They take out books without entering the fact; they lend books to others. All in future who use the library, not being members of the chapter, promise not to do these things, 'sincerely and bonâ fide, upon the faith and honour of a Clergyman and a Gentleman.' A deposit of the full value of the book must be made by everyone who is not 'admitted to the library': and the Dean and Chapter promise that they will not lend books, or the key of the library, and that they will observe all rules.

It is noteworthy that in 1753 it is spoken of as still a 'public library,' as it was in the fifteenth century.

HISTORY FROM 1771-1873. MR. GRIFFIN'S WORK.

In 1771, nearly a hundred years after Mr. Hopkins began his work on the library, a most industrious and able librarian appears in the person of the Rev. J. Griffin. We have still a large folio volume in which he has entered the titles of the books, preparatory to the formation of a classified catalogue.[1] Then follows his classification and shelf catalogue in two volumes folio manuscript. The titles of these deserve to be given in detail. It is this classification and arrangement which is maintained in the library to-day. Mr. Griffin died in 1813, having been headmaster of the cathedral school from 1778.

The catalogue has as its title: 'Catalogus / Librorum Impressorum / in / Bibliotheca / Collegii Cathedralis / Vigorniae. / volumen primum MDCCLXXX. / Volumen Secundum MDCCCLXXXIII.'

These dates give some indication of the labour and time spent on the catalogue.

Then follows a dedication: 'Decano / admodum reverendo et Capitulo / Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Vigorniae / Catalogum / suae gratitudinis monumentum / et officii sibi demandati / rationem / humillime offert et dedicat Bibliothecarius.'

The following page gives the principle of the shelf arrangement:

[1] 1st May, 1771. Catalogue of books in the Chapter House according to the order in which they are placed in their present classes, preparatory to a more complete catalogue and a new arrangement.

Index Titulorum

Vol. 1mi

	PAGES
Biblia - - - - -	1-7
Concordantiae et Bib. Comment. - -	9-37
Hist. Eccl. ad complendum Div. C. - -	37-40
Patres et Script. Gr. Eccl. - - -	40-64
Theologia - - - - -	79-130
Catalogi, Lexica, etc. - - - -	130-6
Antiquitates, Numismata, etc.	136-40 and 143-5
Acta Eruditorum - - - -	140-3
Historia Latina - - - -	145-71
History and Voyages in English - -	171-3

These extend from A to M.

Volumine secundo.

Très tomi continentur:

1. Librorum impressorum - - -	1-100
2. Librorum manuscriptorum - -	1-29
3. Librorum musicorum - - -	1-7

Elenchus Titulorum.

Librorum impressorum. Vol. 2.

Voyages, History, etc. - - -	1-5
History and Antiquities of England - -	6-25
Law - - - - - -	25-31
Arts and Sciences - - - -	32-40
Divinity - - - - -	40-56
Lexica, Libri Philolog. et Critici - -	57-69
Authores Class. Latini - - -	69-78
Libri Class. Græci - - - -	70-100

Catalogued, not in index.

Libri Miscellanei - - - -	101-50

The catalogue of the manuscripts is entitled: 'Catalogus / Librorum manuscriptorum / in /

Bibliotheca Ecclesiæ Cathedralis / Vigorniæ. / MDCCXXXXI.' It enumerates 251 volumes, of which 169 are in folio and 82 in quarto. These manuscript volumes are analysed, when they contain several treatises bound together.

Yet another volume is entitled: 'Catalogus Librorum Musicorum/Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Wigorniae/MDCCLXXXI/Hunc fecit vir reverendus Ed. Taylor, Præcentor/ejusdem ecclesiæ, et musices peritissimus.' This catalogue, however, gives so little detail as to be of no value. The collection is of considerable interest, and has been arranged, and partly catalogued, by my son, Mr. J. S. Wilson, under the superintendence of Mr. Ivor Atkins. In 1774, Dr. Johnson visited Worcester. In his account of his journey into N. Wales he writes: 'We went to Worcester, a very splendid city; the Cathedral is very noble with many remarkable monuments. The Library is in the Chapter House. On the table lay the Nuremburg Chronicle, I think of the first Edition.' (It is Koburger's well-known edition of 12th July, 1493.)

In 1780 Mr. Griffin receives the thanks of the Dean and Chapter for his care in arranging the books in the library, and making a catalogue thereof: and in 1783 he receives a honorarium of twenty guineas for 'his extraordinary trouble in making catalogues of the books in the Library, and new ranging and regulating the same.'

In 1790 the book-cases or shelves in the library were ordered to be 'continued on, and finished on the same plan 'as hath been lately adopted.' The library here mentioned is certainly the Chapter

House, for in 1796 Green, in his 'History of Worcester,' writes (i. 78): 'The Chapter House is also the Library of the Church in which is preserved a valuable collection of printed books and many old Manuscripts chiefly of Canon Law, of which 169 are in folio, and 82 in quarto. The Collection of books has been greatly augmented of late ages by the care of the Deans and the benefactions of private persons.'

In 1816 the MSS. were reported in good order except ten, and in 1821 the books numbered about 3,600. In the early part of the nineteenth century some fresh restrictions are made as to the use of the library; but there is no important entry till 1st March, 1866. There we read, 'The Report of Mr. Perkins as to the removal of the Library from the Edgar Tower to the rooms above the South Aisle of the Cathedral with the approach by an old staircase recently discovered in the Cloisters having been considered, it was resolved that plans be made and estimates prepared for the work by Mr. Perkins, and if approved the Dean and Treasurer be empowered to proceed with the work.'

This entry needs a word of explanation. The restoration of the cathedral was going on, and in 1864 the books were moved from the Chapter House, in order that the Chapter House walls might be examined and repaired if necessary. The books were removed to the Edgar Tower,[1] for which 'three tables or cupboards, fender, fire irons

[1] A member of the Archæological Society remembers the removal, and seeing loose leaves blowing about the green. He picked up some and still possesses them!

and fire guard,' were purchased, as suggested by the librarian.

'The old staircase recently discovered in the cloisters' is perplexing. Had it been blocked up after 1748, and all trace of it lost? The school must have entered the triforium from the cloister, not from the cathedral. Henceforward, since 1866, the library has been where it now is, in the south triforium of the nave.

The Chapter Acts continue to acknowledge gifts of books, such as those from the Archæological Institute and the Rev. Dr. Wynter in 1869, the Rev. F. Havergal and Sir G. F. Lewis in 1870. In 1872 the separate library fund was abolished, and it was ordered that the fees formerly appropriated to it be paid to the Receiver, and that grants be made from time to time to the library as may seem good to the Chapter.

HISTORY FROM 1870 TO 1910,
WORK OF REV. MAURICE DAY AND J. K. FLOYER.

The library now enters on a new chapter of its history. The Rev. Maurice Day, head master of the cathedral school from 1859 to 1879, is appointed librarian, and receives £20 towards the expense of a new catalogue; and in 1880, on his retirement, 'the best thanks of the Dean and Chapter are given him for the great care and thought which he has been good enough to bestow on the preparation of the Library Catalogue and the valuable service which he has thereby rendered to the Dean and Chapter.'

This is our first and only printed catalogue, dated 1880, registering about 3,600 books.

Mr. J. H. Hooper, M.A., is appointed librarian in 1881; and in 1882 the library fund is once more ordered to 'be kept distinct from the Domus fund in accordance with the ancient custom.' It becomes plain from the Chapter Acts, and from entries in a rough note book left in the library, that Mr. Hooper did excellent work as librarian, though the condition of the books still left much to be desired. He received grants from Domus of £25, £25, £20, £20, £20, £20, in the years from 1885-1892, for the repair and rebinding of the manuscripts, and the printing of a catalogue of the books given by Bishop Philpott. Besides the care of these valuable manuscripts, a large number of books not in Mr. Day's catalogue were described and entered; notes were made of books in the catalogue but not on the shelves; duplicates were noted; lists made of special bindings, and lists of the early printed books of the fifteenth and sixteenth century were made in manuscript.

The manuscript catalogue of gifts started by Hopkins is copied in another volume down to 1869, and gifts from 1870 to 1890 are entered in the handwriting of Mr. J. H. Hooper. In 1890 the library received Bishop Philpott's gift of books. We possess this list in the bishop's own handwriting, with a note that it was given by Canon Melville to Mr. Hooper on 29th June, 1890. This gift consists of 78 folios and quartos, 169 octavos, and 118 duodecimos, besides Reports of Eccl. Comm. Orders in Council, Journal and Chronicle

of Convocation and Parliamentary Records; and 113 volumes given subsequently. There is an alphabetical catalogue in manuscript of all these, and they are arranged in a separate set of shelves.

This alphabetical list is copied as far as B, in a clerk's hand, into the manuscript catalogue above described.

In 1897 Mr. Hooper resigned his post as librarian to make way for the Rev. J. K. Floyer, who was appointed to succeed him. Mr. Floyer's excellent work in cataloguing the manuscripts, and fully describing them, lies apart from the object of this paper. In 1903 Mr. Floyer, on leaving Worcester, was succeeded by another minor canon, Rev. H. S. Chignell. In 1906 I obtained the sanction of the chapter for removing the ancient muniments and records previous to 1800 from the Edgar Tower to the library, and grants of £25 and £20 for cataloguing and housing them. The preliminary catalogue was made by the Rev. J. H. Bloom. It is in six portfolios of type-script.

In 1907 I was appointed librarian, and Rev. H. J. Mercer sub-librarian. Unfortunately we entered on our work with no information from my predecessor as to what had been done before. The manuscript volumes I have spoken of were either unknown to Mr. Chignell or not used by him. I did not discover them in a cupboard in the library till after a fresh book had been started to record gifts. There is a want of continuity in the work of our library, which this paper is intended in part to remedy.

I very early consulted my friends Mr. C. Sayle and Mr. Cosmo Gordon, both of the University

Library of Cambridge, as to the special needs of the library. It was at Mr. Sayle's suggestion that the muniments were treated as they have been, and Mr. Gordon gave me much help in transcribing some of them. Mr. Sayle also recommended the separation of the incunabula and of certain selected books, and earnestly pressed the formation of a shelf catalogue and the periodic checking of the library by it. The incunabula—thirty-five in all[1]—have been accordingly separated, and a separate catalogue printed, of which copies have been sent to the principal libraries. This was prepared at my request by Mr. Cosmo Gordon. Mr. Sayle made from the printed catalogue a list of the English sixteenth century printed books, numbering about 120, and including a few from the press of Wynkyn de Worde, several service books, and fifteen controversial works printed at Antwerp and Louvain in 1564-7, and this list also is in print. Mr. Sayle has also given us a slip catalogue of books down to 1660.

[1] Beriah Botfield, in his 'Notes on Cathedral Libraries,' 1849, says of the Worcester Cathedral Library: 'The oldest printed books I could find were the Biblia Latina Vulgata illuminata, Venetiis 1478, and the Nuremberg Chronicle, without a title, in modern calf binding. . . . The earliest classic author I noticed was the Juvenal with the Commentaries of Calderinus, printed at Rome in 1474. With these three exceptions the bibliographer will seek in vain for any productions of the 15th century within these walls.' Yet a diligent search has revealed no fewer than thirty-five still remaining, among them being Caxton's edition of Gower's 'Confessio Amantis.' Most of the other incunabula are ordinary enough, but there is one happy exception, a copy of the 'Rudimentum nouiciorum,' the chronicle printed by Lucas Brandis at Lübeck in 1475. This, I am told, was the first dated book printed at Lübeck, and the finest which Brandis ever produced.

Mr. Sayle was appointed by the Chapter in November, 1910, as their permanent adviser on the Library.

Mr. Mercer is now—1910—engaged in the very important work of checking and completing an old shelf catalogue of the date 1780 to 1783.

My own work has been entirely with the MSS. and muniments, not with the printed books.

JAMES M. WILSON.

College, Worcester.
Dec., 1910.

APPENDIX.

From Worcester Cathedral Library (p. 8).

A xii., f. 3.

Empciones et provisiones per Reverendum patrem Willelmum More priorem pro termino xiij^{cim} Annorum post primum ingressum suum prefixionis sue in priorem in Octobri in Anno domini millesimo cccccxviij^{o}.

In primis I redemed a litle portuos lying to plegg in teames strete in London -	liij s. iiij d.
Item I made A newe mas boke beyng at Jesus Awter price - - - -	cxxij s. v d.
Item A made A new greate grayle beyng before the prior in the quyre - - -	cxxx s. xij d.
Item A litle boke called An Annuall for beryings, diriges noted, &c.	
Item A sequens boke in the prior's chappell	
Item A sawter bok (*sic*) with the ymmes newe wryt	
Item A processional boke newe made and noted	

Item A pawper boke wryt by the seid prior called A boke of the ordre
Item A parchment boke the copis of our evidens and charters
Item ij claspes of selver and gylt to the priors mas boke in his chappell at Worceter - vj s. viij d.
Item A hoole wark of Seynt Auststens warks in prynt bowght at London - - 1s.
Item A boke of lawe called Archdecon apon the decrees - - - - vj s. viij d.
Item A boke called dominus super sext - viij s. ij d.
† Item Seynt Jeormes warks v volumes - xl s.
+ Item Seynt gregoris Warks j volome - viij s.
† Item Seynt Ambros warks iij volems - xiij s. iiij d.
† Item A boke of lawe called herry Cowyke j volume - - - - xij s.
† Item A boke called Summa Summarum j volume - - - - vj s. viij d.
† Item A boke called hostiensis j volume summa xj s.
† Item the Englis cronaculls - - ij s. viij d.
Item A boke of Seynt barnards warks - vj s.
Item A boke called ortus sanitatis - - vs.
Item A masse boke of prynt - - iij s. iiij d.
Item ortus vocabulorum - - - xij d.
Item A boke Actus Apostolorum &c. - xvj d.
Item the Sext and Clementine j volume
Item the decres j volume
Item the decretalls j volume
Item Abbott iiij volumes - - - xxxij s.
Item Legenda Sanctorum in englisshe vj s.
Item Legenda sanctorum de Anglia &c.
Item A boke of Seynt benetts rewle cum comentorio - - - - ij s. viij d.
Item A boke called constitucions provinciall Lynwod
Item a hoole corsse of sevyll v. volumes

† Bought in 1523.

Item Institutes	
Item ij masse boks of prynt - -	iiij s. ij d.
*Item a boke of lawe petrus de Anckorano super sexto - - -	xxvj s. viij d.
*Item philippus franckus super sexto	
*Archidiaconus super sexto .. zaberellus cardinalis super Clementine -	
*Innocentius super decretalem -	
*Item filinus ij volumes xv s. fridericus xiiij d.	
*Item A boke conteynyng iij councells viz consilia abbatis consilia calderini consilia lodwici - - - - -	xj s. iij d.
Johannes Andree Nonolla super decretal ij volumes - - - -	xxiiij s.
Item prepositus super causas et super distinccionibus - - - -	xvj s.
Lectura hostiensis ij volumes - -	xiiij s. iiij d.
Item rationale divinorum - - -	ij s.
Item legenda sanctorum in Anglia - -	xvi d.
Item speculum spiritualium - -	ij s.
Item opera Hugonis de Sancto Victore iij volumes - - - -	xv s.
Item opera bede j volume - - -	vj s. viij d.
Item Hugo cardinalis j volume - -	v s.
Item opera Willelmi Parisiensis j volume -	vj s.
Item polycratea - - - -	iij s. iiij d.
Item Ricardus de sancto Victore de trinitate	xvj d.
Item opera Hillarij 1 vol. - - -	vj s.
Item questiones divi thome - -	x d.
Item opera Laurencij Justiniani 1 vol. -	vj s. viij d.
Item opera Ruparti iij volumes - -	xv s.
Item pipyne in Genesin ij litle volumes -	iij s. iiij d.
Item opera basilij - - - -	iij s. iiij d.
Item Beda de natura rerum et de tropis -	xvj d.

Note.—From Prior Moore's Diary it appears that the books marked * were bought in London about Christmas, 1526.

Item Angeloni in regum - - - ij s.
Item Philippus presbiter in Job - - ij s. viij d.
Item opera brunonis 1 volume - - vj s. viij d.
Item opera Cipriani 1 vol - - - v s.
Item opera Senece 1 volume - - v s.
Item opuscula divi thome in Job - - v s.
Item opera fulgencij 1 volume - - xvj d.
Item philo Judeie - - - - ij s.
Item ij litle boks of the statutes of yngland - ij s. viij d.
Item Haymo super Epistolas pauli et cantica canticorum - - - - ij s.
Item Haymo super xij^{cim} prophetas - - xx d.
Item Haymo super Apocalypsis - - xvj d.
Item iij boks of Seynt benetts rewle in Englisshe - - - - ij s. viij d.
Item to the parson of Seynt Andros in Worcetur for ij the furst boks of Abbot - xvij s.
Item delyvered to the clyster Awmery speculum spiritualium- - - - ij s.
Item Ludulphus de vita cristi - - iiij s.

From Prior Moore's Diary (A xi. fol. 148, b.)
Item a greate bucke of Statutes of England from the furst yere of Edward the thyrd till the parliament holden after cristmas in the xxv yere of kyng Henry the eyght - x s.
Item natura brev. et magna Carta - - ij s.
Item a bucke of the passion - - ij s.
Item a greate bucke of councells - - vi s. viij s.

JAMES AMPHLETT AND SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE.

THE memorial volume, as we may call it, of James Amphlett of Shrewsbury is a curious assemblage of odds and ends. Dying in 1860, he had been for more than sixty years a journalist, but his 149 pages of reminiscences are eked out with indifferent verses and other matter, poor and extraneous to his subject. The title-page is promising:

> 'The Newspaper Press, in part of the last century and up to the present period of 1860. The recollections of James Amphlett, who has been styled the Father of the Press, extending over a period of sixty years in connexion with newspapers, London and the country . . . London: Whittaker & Co. and W. Wardle, Shrewsbury. 1860.'

The book has now become rare, and does not appear in the British Museum catalogue. The Dedication 'To the Editor of "The Times"' is dated 'Severn Cottage, Shrewsbury, February 1860,' and a notice of Amphlett's death at the age of eighty-four on 19th July of that year shows that it occurred before the book was in the hands of the public. He was the son of a Baptist pastor, and was intended for a ministerial career, but a debate in which he took part at school convinced him of the

error of dissent, and he became a staunch churchman and conservative. As a boy he witnessed the 'Church and King' riots at Birmingham, when the laboratory of Joseph Priestly was destroyed by the ignorant mob, who regarded his tubes and retorts as conclusive evidence of his 'dealings with the devil'! He mentions that visitors to Birmingham who wore shoestrings instead of buckles were often pelted in the streets by the native sticklers for propriety in costume.

Mr. Amphlett was editor of the 'Staffordshire Advertiser' and afterwards of the 'Lincoln News' and of the 'Shrewsbury Journal,' but contributed to various other papers in London and in the provinces. In 1802 he was writing for the 'Monthly Mirror' over the signature of 'Civis.' His 'Idle Hours' were appearing at the same time as Kirk White's 'Melancholy Hours,' and the two writers had some allusions to each other. He was mixed up with several libel actions, and in relation to one of them had an interview with the first Sir Robert Peel, who observed, 'You will live to see Birmingham and all the large towns return Members to Parliament.' This was said in 1820, when the party to which Peel belonged was bitterly opposed to Parliamentary Reform. Amphlett had some acquaintance with William Godwin and Thomas Holcroft. His reporting experiences include the description of prize-fights and, what is even more curious, of a 'hawking match' of the Duke and Duchess of St. Albans in 1829.

Judged by its title and by the opportunities of its writer, the book is a very disappointing per-

formance, but there are some interesting references to Coleridge. From 1811 to 1813 Amphlett was in London, and had a sister whose husband was a friend of the poet, who resided with them for a short time. He writes:

> 'I frequently met Mr. Coleridge there and Charles Lamb, a kind of Lion's provider. In the midst of the profound thought and mystic lore, Lamb, who [*sic*] would often break in with what his hostess called a skit, shewing the proximity of the great and the little, testing the sublime by the ridiculous. One night I chanced to have a Leicester newspaper in my pocket, containing a speech made by the celebrated Robert Hall, at a platform meeting of the advocates of the Bible Society; Coleridge read it with great interest, and remarked, how ingeniously Hall dealt with the argument in a circle. He afterwards said, "These platform meetings, where clergymen and dissenting ministers come into competition as to which should bid the highest for support in religious zealots, and puritanical enthusiasts; these circumstances, he said, would lead to a low church, and a high church wider apart, than ever yet was known,—one leaning to the latitudinarian services of the dissenters, and the other, to the ceremonials of the Roman Catholics." This was the effect of what he said in general language and the prediction has been verified.'

There is also a curious anecdote about Street, at one time editor of the 'Courier.'

> 'One of his brightest days,' Mr. Amphlett observes, 'was that on which he gave a splendid

dinner to Madame Catalini, when he sported the elegant service presented to him by the Prince Regent. Coleridge was there and he told me that there was "nothing in his wines so humble as port and he called for a bottle to shame him."'

Perhaps the most interesting passage in Amphlett's *olla podrida* is the following account of Coleridge's Shakesperian lectures.:

'While editing the "Rifleman," a folio Sunday paper, selling at eightpence halfpenny, I attended a lecture given by Mr. Coleridge at a room in Fetter Lane, and I now copy from the above paper in the year 1812, the following sketch of the address.

'This gentleman's course of lectures on Shakespeare is drawing towards a close, and the town will be speedily deprived of one of the most intellectual treats which it has experienced for a number of years. These lectures, though in a select circle, well supported, have not been attended with that degree of success which ought, perhaps, to have been expected from so enlightened a city as the capital of Great Britain. But there are some considerations which will qualify any charge of apparent deficiency of the public taste. The present course is given in the city, and in the winter; a time when snow, and rain, and dirt, and fogs, muster such an advanced guard of uncomfortable enemies to London life, that the citizen is content to encounter the privations of mind, with the fireside weapons of cards and tobacco. "Fetter Lane," where,

during the winter months, the sun is "invisible, or dimly seen," has no inviting sound to the delicate ears of the west end of the town. The *literati* there, considered, perhaps, that the lecturer ought to have come "betwixt the *smoke* and their nobility."

'We have always been aware that a man of Mr. Coleridge's powers of mind, could never in a lecture, do himself anything like justice. So refining and multifarious are his habits of thought, that he cannot subject even his pen to any order or arrangement in his subject. In his writings we find him continually changing his course, to catch the interesting impulse of some new thought, elicited from, or crossing his subject. There is only one thing in him that is certain, and that is, though his subject should be *physics*, a *metaphysical* conclusion. It is his governing tendency, and beats him out of that which is simple into that which is complex; from individualities to generalities, in defiance of himself.

'There is another peculiarity in him which ought to be particularised, and which seems to be an illustration of the affinity that is said to exist in extremes. If he begins on any particular passion or principle, he commonly works about it, from some strange and incomprehensible impetus, till he involves himself in a mass of nebulous matter, that is as remote from the nature of his text as possible! A great portion of one of his lectures, on the passion of love (as exemplified in Juliet) consisted in a decomposition of the characteristics of garrulous age; and

of contrasted powers and habits of memory, in educated and uneducated minds. He pursued this mining[1] enquiry till love was lost in the boundless wilds of thought; and Shakespeare himself disappeared in the ocean of human nature. But all these things are rather a proof of Mr. Coleridge's powers of mind than anything else. If the female part of his audience be sometimes disappointed they are sometimes as agreeably surprised. For a cross wind and current of feeling, will frequently drive the lecturer from the most rugged and masculine philosophy, into the calm and captivating confines of the circle of the affections, and influences of the heart.'

This may take its place by the side of Crabb Robinson's description of these lectures, which were marvels of intellectual power—and irrelevance.

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

[1] Perhaps a mistake for 'minor'; the book swarms with errata.

TWO BOOK BILLS OF KATHERINE PARR.

IN search of information concerning a certain William Harper, Clerk of the Closet to Queen Katherine Parr, I turned to such of the Queen's household accounts as are preserved in the Public Record Office. Among these papers I found two bills from the King's Printer, which are worth transcribing at length. They are entirely in the exquisite handwriting of Thomas Berthelet, and in that respect differ from the longer bill presented to Henry VIII. in 1544, now in the British Museum,[1] for the latter is written by a clerk, with Berthelet's receipt added to the King's warrant attached to the bill.

The date of the first of the Queen's bills is not given, but it is filed with accounts for 35 Henry VIII. and a few stray ones of the following year, and there is no reason to doubt that it belongs to that period.[2] It runs as follows:

[1] Add. MSS. 28,196.

[2] The quarterly account of the Clerk of the Closet, No. 42 or the same file, is dated 13th May, 36 Henry VIII. (1544), and it is probable that this account, beginning 1st May, is of the same year. Katherine Parr was married on 12th July, 1543.

Delyuered to my lord of chichester[1] for the Quenis grace, the first day of May, vj, bokes of the psalme prayers, gorgiously boūd and gilt on the leather, at xvj^{d} the pece Itē delyuered to the clerke of the Q ueenis Closet, for her grace, ij of the said bokes of Psalme prayers, likwise gorgiously bound and gilt on the leather, at xvj^{d} the pece Itē delyu^{r}ed to my lorde of Chichestre for the Quenes grace, the 4 of May, vj, of the foresayd bokes likewyse bound, and gylt on the Lether, at xvj^{d} the pece

sum̃a to^{lis} xviij^{s} viij^{d} đ

THOMAS BERTHELET.[2]

At the top has been written by another hand 'by Mr Bartylet,' and near the figures of the sum total is 'allo^{r}.' Close to Berthelet's signature is 'W p hurton'—that is, William Parr, Lord Parr of Horton, the Queen's uncle, who was Lord Chamberlain of her household, and therefore countersigned the account.

There can be little doubt as to the book referred to in this bill as 'Psalme prayers,' of which the Queen bought fourteen copies. Berthelet had printed in 1544 'Psalmi seu precationes,'[3] and in 1545 'Psalms or Prayers.' A copy of a later edition of the latter (1548) at the British Museum[4] has this title: 'Psalmes or Prayers taken out of holye Scripture. Londini. MDXLVIII.' This is commonly known as the 'King's Prayers.' The contents

[1] George Day, Bishop of Chichester, 1543-51. Cooper ('Ath. Cantab.,' p. 157) says he was almoner to the Queen in 1545, an office he also held under Queen Mary.

[2] Augmentation Office Misc. Bk. 161. art. 46.

[3] 'Handlist of English Printers,' III., p. 10.

[4] C. 51. a. 7.

might be better described as 'Psalms *and* Prayers,' as it contains the first fifteen psalms, followed by the twenty-first Psalm, and one headed 'a psalme of thankesgeuyng,' beginning, 'Reioyce and syng in the honour of the lord.' After these are two prayers, one for the King and the other 'for men to say entryng into battaile.' It is possible that there was an English edition of 1544 as well as a Latin one.

The second bill is much longer, and is clearly dated:

To the Queenes grace a° rr Ed. VI p^r^mo.

Imprimis deliuered to master Harper for the Queenes grace, a boke of psalme praiers couered in white and gilt on the leather, price———xvj^d^

Item a boke of the .x. cōmaundements, couered in white, and gilt on the Leather, the price———xij^d^

Item Enchiridion of Erasmus in englishe, and the boke called the preparacion to dethe, the price———xvj^d^

Itē delyuered to my lord of Chichester for hir grace, imp^r^mis, ij praier bokes, couered in white satin, the p^i^ce———ij^s^

Item .x. bokes printed in Velim of the same praiers, whiche are viij^d^, a pece, sm^a^———vj^s^ viij^d^

Item p^d^ for the byndyng of .ix. of those bokes in white and gilt on the leather, for a pece, vj^d^, the sume——— iiij^s^ vj^d^

Item for. xij. of the saied praiers bound in white, and gilt on the leather, at vj^d^ the pece sum^a^ vj^s^

Item a boke printed in fine velim of a great lettre the price of the same———ij^s^

Item .v. of the same bokes printed in fine velim, at ij^s^ the pece, the sum̃e———x^s^ [1]

sum^a^ to^lis^ xxxvj^s^ x^d^

[1] Exch. Q. R. Accounts, 424. 12.

This is not signed by Berthelet, though in his handwriting. It is allowed by Anthony Cooper, and has a note as follows:

paid iiij Junij A° RR E vj pmo.

The first item seems to be identical with the books of the previous account. The second is, no doubt, 'A Declaration of the Ten Commandments,' by Bishop Hooper, of which an edition without name of printer was published in 1548. John Byddell issued the Enchiridion of Erasmus in English, 'Cum priuiegio ad imprimendum solum,' in 1533, 1534, 1538, and 1544, the last edition having on the colophon, 'Newly corrected and amended in the yere of oure lorde god. M V C xliiii the xix of Nouembre.' Berthelet published Erasmus' 'Preparation to Death' as early as 1543. From the above account it would seem that the two books were bound together: there are three copies of 'The Preparation to Death' of this edition of Berthelet's in the British Museum.[1] Two are bound up with Byddell's Enchiridion, and the third with the 'Preparation' in Latin by Berthelet.

The remaining books appear to be copies of the two editions of Katherine Parr's own 'Prayers or Meditations,' commonly called the 'Queen's Prayers,' to distinguish them from the other volume already mentioned, 'The King's Prayers.' The first edition of her book which I can find mentioned was printed by Berthelet in 1543, and others were issued in 1545, 1546, and 1547. These were all small books

[1] B.M. 696 a. 43, C. 37 a. 31, and 11982.

in 16mo or 32mo, and even when 'printed in velim' eightpence a piece would be a very probable price for them, although the idea of Berthelet bindings 'in white and gilt on the leather' at an additional sixpence may well make modern collectors sigh. Besides these tiny editions there is also an undated one in octavo, which by comparison may fairly be called 'of a great lettre'—*i.e.*, printed in large type —and for these on vellum two shillings each would be a reasonable price. Copies of any ordinary primer or prayer-book (the first Prayer-book of Edward VI. is also ruled out of consideration by its date) would have cost as much or more than this on paper, besides not having the personal touch which accounts for the Queen purchasing so many, obviously for presentation to her friends.

Yet another bill of the Queen's is of interest to the bibliographer. It is filed with the first of these accounts of Berthelet, and is as follows:

xij° April A° rr. H. viij xxxv°

Willm Harper clerke of the closett to the queyns grace Askethe alowance as money by hym layed owt Inpr̃mis payd for a prymar for her grace in laten and englyshe wt epistyles and gospeles vnbounden ijs iiijd Itm for Rewlyng and Colerynge of the letteres of the seyd pr̃mar And of her graces testement in frenche vs Itm payd for gyldyng coveryng and byndyng of the two seyd bokes vs Itm payd to the launder for washyng of the closett clothes for one quarter of the yere endyd at the Anntyacon of or Lady last past vs Itm payd for Syngyng breades this quarter xijd Itm payd for flowers to the closett

the xvj day the xxiij^{ti} day and the xxx^{ti} day of Marche vj^{s} Itm p^{d} for flowers the vj day And the xij day of Aprell iiij^{d}

Su^{m}a xix^{s} ij^{d} [1]

The Primers in Latin and English printed before this date are usually rubricated, but he may have made a copy more elaborate for the Queen's own use. Grafton, with Whitchurch, printed the Primer in Latin and English with 'Pystels and Gospels' in 1540, 1542, 1543, and 1545.

An effort has been made to discover what were the duties of the Clerk of the Closet at this period. As no printed account of his office has been found among the Ordinances and Regulations of the Royal Household or elsewhere, or even a description in manuscript, it is as well to put together such information on the subject as can be gleaned or inferred from the documents examined.

The position of Clerk of the Closet to the King was one of honour. In 1542 it was held by Dr. Edward Leighton, Archdeacon of Salisbury and Prebend of Westminster.[2] The same official in the Queen's household was of less rank, but was also a clerk in Holy Orders. William Harper, who held the position under Katherine Parr, is probably the one of that name described by Foster[3] as 'secular chaplain, fellow of New College 1503-27, from Axbridge, Somerset, B.C.L.

[1] Aug. Off. Misc. Bk. 161. No. 69.

[2] The Clerk of the Closet to the late King Edward was the Bishop of Ripon.

[3] Alum. Oxon.

(disp. 6 July) 1521, B.Can.L. (disp. 9 Apr.) 1522,' and who was from 1526 to 1553 Vicar of Writtle, Essex, where he was prosecuted for popish practices. We know he was the William Harper who was instituted to Sampford Courteney, Devon, 18th October, 1546, on the presentation of Queen Katherine Parr. It was during his incumbency of that place that the Book of Common Prayer was first used there on Whitsunday, 1549, with the result that the inhabitants of that parish on Whitmonday obliged the priest to revest himself in his 'popish attire' and read Mass; this was the beginning of the Western Rebellion in Devonshire.

As Clerk of the Queen's Closet Harper received as wages £6 16s. 10½d. per annum, the same sum being paid to the King's Clerk of the Closet. He sat at table with the chief officers of the Queen's household, next after the chaplains.[1]

Among the duties of the Clerk of the Closet appear to have been not only the care of the Closet and its appurtenances, and the supply of books, as we see above, but acting as confidential messenger and as personal attendant upon his mistress upon her journeys. There are entries of charges for half a cart at a penny a mile between different royal residences, giving the order of journeys coinciding with the Queen's movements. The cart was

[1] The Clerk of the Closet to Charles II. and the principal physician were the only persons under the degree of a baron or privy councillor permitted to approach the King's chair or stand under the cloth of State. ('Ordinances and Regulations of Royal Household,' p. 371.) This privilege had probably been granted at an earlier period also.

required particularly for the furniture of the Closet.[1] It does not appear exactly of what that furniture consisted, but on one occasion at least it was insufficient, as he asks allowance for 4d. 'gyven in rewarde to the clerke and sexton at buckyngham for bryngyng of theyr church stuffe to serue the quene.' On another occasion—and only this once—there is a charge for 'caryage of the plate for the closet.' Besides this there was the linen, for which he paid the 'launder' five shillings quarterly for washing, and which he describes as 'albes, awter clothes and other lynnen appertayning to the closset.' We presume there were also altar frontals and vestments of tissue or velvet with traverses and 'balkyns' or canopies, such as a King's Clerk of the Closet enumerates as pertaining to the great and the privy closet.[2]

He also supplied herbs and flowers as well as 'Syngyng breads.'[3] He asks allowance for the following curious items: a perfuming panne to the closett, iiij yardes whyte caddas[4] for gyrdles, a basket lyned w^{t} ledd^{r} to cary coles to the grett closett, a fyer sufill (elsewhere called a showyll) iiij yards of silke lace for hangyng the pycks, a skeyne of whyte thrydde, iiij^{c} teynter hokes, a hamer, two great halfe portuas for the queyns

[1] If the custom followed in later reigns then obtained, the Clerk of the Closet himself would have shared the conveyance occupied by the Dean of the Chapel and the Chaplains.

[2] See 'Lisle Papers,' 8.

[3] Explained by Halliwell as denoting sacramental wafers, but much more probably the *pain bénit* distributed on high festivals during a sung mass.

[4] Caddas = worsted ribbon. See Halliwell.

Closett, sylke laces for regesters for the portuas occupied in the quene ys closet,[1] and thryd for Reparyng vestments and Removyng Albes.[2]

On the whole, one is led to conclude that the Clerk of the Closet was a private Chaplain who was particularly employed about the person of his master or mistress, and accompanied them upon their ordinary journeys.[3]

F. Rose-Troup.

[1] Evidently markers.

[2] This was 20th October, 38 Henry VIII., just about three months before the King's death.

[3] In the Ordinances of 17 Henry VIII. arrangements are made for divine service daily 'when his Grace keepeth not his haule, & specially in rideing Journeys & Progresses'; the master of the King's chapel, six children and six men, with some officers of the vestry, were to be continually in attendance, but no reference is made to the presence of a chaplain then. See T. R. Misc. Bk. 231, f. 46. This is quoted in 'Ordinances and Regulations of the Royal Household' (Soc. Antiq., 1790).

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

CERTAIN French scholars and professors taking Taine and Jusserand for their leaders, men like Angellier, Legouis, Léon Morel, and Huchon, have devoted themselves to the study of English Literature, and have produced books that are valuable contributions to the subject. They have thus set a fashion in France, and many of the younger men, with insufficient equipment and too little sympathy, have taken the same province.

In Raymond Laurent, the author of 'Etudes Anglaises,' who died at the age of twenty-one, Mr. R. J. E. Tiddy—he introduces the book by a preface—considers France has been deprived of one more critic of the right sort. It seems to me that the work before us is of too slight a nature to warrant such a statement. But one of the essays deals with Walter Pater, and contains an exceedingly interesting comparison between his work and that of Maurice Barrès. Laurent, with the assurance, and the fondness for phrase-making characteristic of 'les jeunes,' declares that both Pater and Barrès possessed 'creative impotence' allied with a marvellous gift of analysis.

'L'un [*i.e.* Pater] cherche dans les religions antiques, dans le symbolisme des mythologies, dans les ébauches de

l'histoire de l'art, dans les systèmes philosophiques, les étapes par lesquelles nous nous acheminons à la libération définitive . . .

'L'autre en deçà de la mort, relit nos sensibilités aux sensibilités anciennes, marque aussi nos attaches profondes avec le sol, étudie comment s'élabore dans l'ombre notre personnalité.'

A more important book is 'George Meredith: Sa vie, son imagination, son art, sa doctrine,' by Constantin Photiadès. It is based on English biographies and criticisms, and the views of the author are supported by voluminous quotations (in French translation) chiefly from 'Harry Richmond.' The French critic is bold enough to compare Meredith with Shakespeare. He regards the novelist's characters as neither individuals nor types, but rather as 'résumés de types' of some wholly ideal life which we find in characters like Alceste, Jaques, Harpagon or Shylock. 'Nous ne les avons jamais vu, nous n'avons aucune chance de les approcher,—bien que notre esprit les fréquente assidûment.' But they have the permanent truth which only a Shakespeare or a Molière can give them. Like the characters of Shakespeare, they dwell beyond time and space. It is all a little involved and bewildering. Meredith's genius is summed up thus:

'La magie, le vrai miracle, ou, si l'on aime mieux, le génie de Meredith consiste à considérer la Terre, et toutes les choses de la Terre, non du dehors mais du dedans. C'est là son originalité.' He goes to the earth, not as to an idyll or eclogue, not as a Wordsworth or a Rousseau went to it, nor does Meredith seek to replace God by Nature; he goes to the earth, or as we are more accus-

tomed to say, to Nature, 'nous rappeler notre extraction, indiquer notre égoïsme, le canaliser et lui creuser un lit profond.'

The author of 'Les sœurs Brontë,' M. Ernest Dimnet, claims to have written the first book on the subject that has appeared in France. So far there have only been essays or magazine articles, or introductions to translations. Although Dimnet declares he has written the book with 'un plaisir constant,' and that the Brontës, 'malgré leurs défauts,' are 'des amies,' there is much fault-finding in the book, chiefly demonstrating that the critic is dissatisfied because his author is not exactly what the critic thinks he ought to be. In referring to the various biographies of the Brontës—he finds Mr. Shorter's the best—Dimnet makes the surprising statement that our literature lacks good biographies. I had thought we could point to some triumphs in that literary art, and that a nation which had produced, let us say, Boswell's 'Johnson,' Lockhart's 'Scott,' Carlyle's 'John Sterling,' and Trevelyan's 'Macaulay,' might even be allowed pre-eminence in the art. Charlotte Brontë herself he finds 'provinciale, malheureuse, inhabile à vivre, parfois même amère, faible, malchanceuse.' He allows, however, that she is always simple and natural, always 'femme,' and not (these are Dimnet's words, not mine) that monstrous product of modern artificiality—the woman of letters.

Emily Brontë's 'Wuthering Heights' is 'un livre prodigieux,' and of a 'puissance que, seul, le plus rare génie atteint.' But even here the critic

does not find all well: there is 'un manque d'équilibre et d'harmonie, un je ne sais quoi de troublant qui tient du rêve et, trop souvent, du cauchemar.' Indeed, throughout, the French critic is scarcely in sympathy with his subject. The English novelist takes a very different view of life from that taken by the French novelist, and it is not only useless but misleading to judge the great English novelists by the standard that would be applied to French novelists of similar rank.

It is with some relief that I turn to a remarkable little book of essays by Marcel Coulon dealing with French life and literature. He calls it 'Témoignages,' with the sub-title 'essays in positive criticism,' and it is throughout most suggestive. Coulon draws a parallel between the critic and magistrate, in as far as each must perforce find a difficulty in being just. The most impartial witness, he declares, testifies according to his temperament; the critic, who is likewise a kind of witness, has no easy task to perform. For he must remember that criticism is made for the work, the work is not made for the criticism. A book or a picture or a statue is a definite thing, a fact. It must be seen as it is, and not as the critic might have wished to see it. If the critic does not agree with the fact, it would be well for him to begin by thinking that the fault probably lies in himself, and he should be sparing of his remonstrances to genius and even to talent. Let him ask of author, painter or sculptor what game he is playing, and if it is bridge, the critic must not behave as if it were poker. Coulon does not, of course, mean that the critic must always be

a witness for the prisoner. He means that when an observer has determined a bird's speed, he may say that it flies heavily and does not cover much ground; but he must not reproach the bird that it cannot live in the water, nor regret too poignantly that fish have no wings. In conclusion, Coulon advises the critic to remember that the poet understands versification better than he does, and that the novelist knows better than he does how to construct a novel, or at least *his* novel. The book is dedicated to Taine, 'au génie . . . vide de parti pris . . . à l'imaginatif puissant de qui l'amour de l'exactitude fit le plus objectif des psychologues.' The three writers dealt with are Jean Moréas, Anatole France, and Remy de Gourmont.

The essay on Moréas, while it is the very best criticism on that poet I have ever read, contains some admirable pages on the classical and the romantic in literature. It is needless here to go into the details of the discussion, but in showing that Moréas owed not a little to Victor Hugo—'puisqu'il est vrai, même en poésie, qu'on est toujours un peu fils de quelqu'un'—Coulon declares:

'C'est qu'à une certaine hauteur d'art les petits mots du langage critique ne signifie rien. Pour exprimer leur désolation, pour dialoguer avec eux-mêmes, pour jouer leur personnage sans costume, sans décor, sans rien autre qu'une lyre toute nue, le classique et le romantique ont trouvé des accents semblables.'

Moréas himself, in his finest poem, 'Les Stances,' is the veritable peacemaker between the two great literary principles, classicism and romanticism.

Henry Bordeaux's new book, 'La robe de laine,' is disappointing. It is scarcely a novel; it is rather a sort of fairy tale, a blending of the themes of Tennyson's 'Lord of Burleigh' and Chaucer's 'Patient Griselda.' The hero is an aviator, for no reason except to get killed in way just now in vogue when he is no longer wanted; but no one in the story is alive or real, and it is all so shadowy, so vague, that our sympathies are never really awakened. The gaiety of nations will indeed be eclipsed if 'post-impressionism' is to invade the French novel. According to Bordeaux, the book is 'l'histoire d'une petite fille toute simple que broie la cruelle vie moderne.' The writing is, as always with this author, full of charm, and the forest scenes are delightfully described. It is perhaps the lyric intensity of the style that gives the book any slight attraction it may have.

'Un conte bleu,' by Pierre Grasset, is a pleasantly written story on a tragic theme. A girl marries the man she loves, and he dies on the honeymoon suddenly of heart failure, four days after the wedding. The young widow's grief is poignantly depicted. She returns to her parents' house, and for many months is sunk in deepest melancholy; but by degrees healing comes, and we leave her quite sure that she will before long be again a happy wife. 'Le passé est bien mort—sans cela notre âme serait un grenier encombré de mannequins pendants et de meubles hors de service—à la louange de l'oubli.'

In 'Le maître d'école,' Georges Beaune tells the story of a schoolmaster, himself a patriot in the best

sense of the word, and his struggles and difficulties with the radicals and socialists of his village. The author well shows the harm the irresponsible agitator may do among the ignorant inhabitants of a rural district. But Potter, the hero, wins in the end. The book has, moreover, another purpose: it shows up what evil effects may come of stamping out religion in these outlying country villages. The background of vineculture—the scene is Languedoc—and of the simple village life is full of charm and interest.

Octave Uzanne has produced a book that is both entertaining and instructive in 'Parisiennes de ce temps' (Études de sociologie féminine), but one that, unfortunately, cannot be put into the hands of all and sundry. I say unfortunately, because apart from the chapters to which I refer, and which deal with 'la galanterie française' in all its forms, an admirable picture is drawn of the Parisian woman of every rank and condition.

'La vierge modeste, l'épouse raisonnable, la mère prudente se rencontrent à Paris autant et plus que partout ailleurs, parceque Paris est à la fois l'enfer et le paradis des femmes. Les démons qui s'y agitent avec véhémence empêchent souvent d'y decouvrir les anges. Les anges y dominent cependant, mais sans jamais attirer l'attention.'

The pages deal with 'menagères, ouvrières et courtesanes, bourgeoises et mondaines, artistes et comédiennes,' and 'l'égoïsme masculin' is not ignored.

I know that students in training colleges for teachers are often lectured on methods of dealing with the natural curiosity of their pupils. They

would do well to read Frédéric Queyrat's 'La curiosité. Étude de psychologie appliquée.' He sets himself to discover what curiosity is, what forms it takes, and which of them are valuable for the educator of children, so that the teacher may know which to suppress or to encourage.

Gerhart Hauptmann's new novel, 'Der Narr in Christo Emanuel Quint,' is another of those attempts, of which the modern German novelist is so fond, to tell over again, either directly or indirectly, the story of Christ. Emanuel Quint is a man of our time, who seems to be not so much a follower of Christ as a repetition of him. He is a carpenter's son; he preaches in the market-place; he is followed by disciples; he does things that are regarded as miracles. Hauptmann shows the psychological aspect of the matter, how Quint is first taken by his neighbours to be Christ, and then how he comes to hold that belief himself, at first in symbol and then in reality; indeed, how a subjective truth becomes an objective untruth. The book is very long—540 large octavo pages of small type—and although the simple style apparently expresses simple thought, the arguments are not always easy to follow, and it lacks the poetry and charm and directness that appeal to all, to learned and unlearned, to believer and unbeliever, in 'Hannele's Himmelfahrt.' Needless to say, the scene of Quint's exploits is Silesia, Hauptmann's native province, and so incidentally there are interesting studies of peasant life and thought.

'Der junge Medardus,' a dramatic history, by Arthur Schnitzler, in a prologue and five acts, is a

Napoleonic drama, in spite of the fact that the great man only passes across the stage as a supernumerary, the usual tribute of course being paid to his wonderful eyes—a tribute that no German writer since Heine ever forgets. The scene is laid in Vienna in 1809, and there are more than seventy speaking parts. I confess I find the play difficult to follow in the book, but that may not be the case on the stage. Indeed, a German friend, whose critical judgment I respect, assures me that it would be exceedingly popular in the smaller towns of Austria and Germany, if only the *personnel* or the theatre were sufficiently numerous! However that may be, the impression left on me after reading the drama is that the Viennese in 1809 did not much care who was ruling them, and that they were really only making believe to defend their city. I do not say that this is what Schnitzler intends. The play provides an admirable picture of middle-class life and thought in the Vienna of 1809, and probably the ordinary middle-class view of war and politics in all ages since the Renaissance.

Herr Paul Wislicenus deserves the thanks of all students of Shakespeare for bringing together in his beautiful little volume, entitled 'Shakespeares Totenmaske,' the various portraits of Shakespeare, all at the low price of four shillings. The three photographs of the Darmstadt death-mask are particularly fine from an artistic point of view. The accompanying letterpress, which is full of interest, is a general attack on the Baconians. Wislicenus has no doubt of the authenticity of the

death-mask, and considers it a proof that only the soul of the greatest of all poets and dramatists—Shakespeare himself—could have dwelt in such a body. He argues that although the portraits do not exactly resemble the mask, they are all based on its lineaments. Hans Thoma, one of the most distinguished of contemporary German portrait-painters, writes to Wislicenus: 'However bad the portraits of Shakespeare are, one thing is clear, they are all of the same person, and of the person whose death-mask lies before me: behind the superficiality, the unskilfulness, of the portraits, is the man of the death-mask. . . . I am reminded of the many pictures of Christ, some good, some bad, but Christ is to be recognized in them all.' Wislicenus has no doubt that the Stratford bust arose from the mask, and gives in full detail the technical arguments, and declares that one reason of the disappointing effect made on us by the bust is that the sculptor did not know Shakespeare personally.

* * * * *

The following recently published books deserve attention:—

Quatre généraux de la Revolution. Hoche et Desaix Kléber et Marceau. Lettres et notes inédites. Suivies d'annexes historiques et biographiques. Par Arthur Chuquet.

A detailed study of the lives and careers of great soldiers.

L'insurrection de 1832. En Bretagne et dans le Bas-Maine d'après des documents inédits.

Material useful for the writing of history on a large scale.

L'Impératrice Joséphine d'après le témoignage de ses principaux historiens. Par le Baron de Méneval.

A number of letters never before published appear in this volume. It is interesting to find what an admirable mother Josephine was.

Paris au temps de Saint-Louis. D'après les documents contemporains et le travaux les plus récents.

An attempt to reproduce Paris at a time when it was really the most beautiful expression of Christian civilization at its zenith.

Jean Jacques Rousseau. Le Protestantisme et la Révolution française. Par Auguste Dide.

An attack on Rousseau, who, according to Dide, interrupted the national tradition in literature, popularized the abuse of *moi*, and despised humanity.

La Légende des 'Philosophes.' Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot peints par eux-mêmes. Par A. Tornezy.

An account of the three great figures who dominated the eighteenth century—a period, as Chateaubriand puts it, of 'action intellectuelle, non d'action matérielle.' The last chapter deals with the influence of the ideas of these philosophers on modern society.

Anthologie du Théâtre Français contemporain. Prose et vers (1850 à nos jours). Par Georges Pellissier.

An admirable anthology of modern French drama. The scenes are so skilfully chosen that those who do not know the plays can read them with interest, and those familiar with them are delighted to have at hand in this convenient form the most striking portions of them.

Deutsche Geschichte. Von Dietrich Schäfer. Band I. Mittelalter.

This volume extends from the earliest times to the end of the fifteenth century. The book is written for the purpose of demonstrating that from the very beginnings of her history Germany has been growing towards the great united empire she is to-day.

Schopenhauers Leben. Von Wilhelm von Gwinner.

The third revised and newly arranged edition of this straightforward biography and excellent account of the work of the great apostle of pessimism.

Graf Julius Andrássy. Sein Leben und seine Zeit. Nach ungedruckten Quellen. Von Eduard von Wertheimer. Band I. Bis zur Ernennung zum Minister des Äussern.

The book is commissioned by the Hungarian Academy. No biography of the statesman has yet appeared.

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THE AUTOGRAPHS OF PETRARCH'S 'RERUM VULGARIUM FRAGMENTA.'[1]

PROFESSOR MARSAND, in the preface to his celebrated edition of the Italian verse of Petrarch, issued 'nella Tipografia del Seminario,' Padova, 1819-20, after reminding the reader that it is the duty of the classical editor to give, not the reading which in his judgment is the most beautiful, but that which the author left written, describes how, in the manifest impossibility or obtaining the autograph, or manuscripts immediately and faithfully copied from the autograph, he had turned to the editions which had been made in conformity to such manuscripts. Having thus examined one by one the editions of the Canzoniere, not those of his own collection alone, but others most rare which were placed at his disposal, he was able to recognize among them not a few which bore indication of having been based upon manuscripts immediately copied from the autograph, and further to be certain that among them three

[1] In large part a story retold from such sources as De Nolhac: 'Le canzioniere autographe de Pétrarque,' the introduction to the edition of the 'Rime' by Carducci and Ferrari, and especially that of Mgr. Vattasso in the facsimile reproduction of cod. Vat. 3195.

alone were prepared and published from the autograph, or from copies revised by the Poet himself. Between two and three hundred editions the patient editor may have taken account of at this time. The three bearing the hall-mark were:

1. 'Francisci petrarcae laureati poetae recnon secretarii apostolici benemeriti. Rerum uulgariū Fragmēta ex originali libro extracta In urbe patauina liber absolutus est foeliciter. Bar. de Valde. patauus. F. F. Martinus de Septem Arboribus Prutenus .M.CCCC.LXXII.'

2. 'Le cose volgari di Messer Francesco Petrarcha.' At end: 'Impresso in Vinegia nelle case d'Aldo Romano nel anno .MDI. del mese di Luglio, et tolto con sommissima diligenza dallo scritto di mano medesima del Poeta hauuto da M. Piero Bembo . . .'

3. 'Li sonetti canzone e triumphi del Petrarcha' . . . At end: 'I Triomphi moralissimi del Petrarcha cō ogni diligentia transunti da lexēpio di quel che scritto di mano propria del poeta per tutto esser se afferma in Venegia impressi nel anno .M.D.XIII. del mese di Maggio per opera de Meser Bernardino stagnino.'

The great value of these three editions, Marsand repeats, rests in the certainty that their text is from the autograph of the Poet, or from a copy revised by him, in their fidelity to the original, and in their conformity to one another. One could not have been copied from another, for the Aldine makes no mention of that of Martino, and in the Stagnino the abbé Marsilio does not note either of the two earlier.

Some fifty years later, Giosuè Carducci, in his 'Rime di Francesco Petrarca sopra argomenti storici, morali e diversi: saggio di un testo col raffronto dei migliori testi. Livorno, Vigo, 1876,' recalling Marsand's judgment, affirms that having examined a good number of manuscripts and many, if not all, of the best known editions of the Canzoniere, he is persuaded that he must go back to Marsand, who had constructed so good a text that a new critical edition could not be other than an accurate revision of the Marsand, compared with the three early ones (citing the editions of 1472, 1501, 1513) and with the original Fragments of the Poet:

4. 'Le rime di m. Francesco Petrarca estratte da un suo originale . . . Roma, Grignani, MDCXLII. Le pubblico Federigo Ubaldini dall' originale conservato nella Vaticano.'

In the phrases (1) *ex originali libro extracta*, (2) *Tolto con sommissima diligenza dallo scritto di mano medesima del poeta havuto da M. Piero Bembo*, (3) *Cō ogni diligentia transunti da lexēpio di quel che scritto di mano propria del poeta*, (4) *estratte da un suo originale*, are references to treasures of extraordinary interest, one of which had in Marsand's time, at least, hopelessly disappeared. It is the purpose of this article to bring together the scraps of allusion and information concerning these autograph sources of the 'Rerum vulgarium fragmenta' of Petrarch.

Let us examine first the case of the so-called Fragments (4) edited in 1642. Though Marsand makes no note of this edition of Ubaldini in his

preface, it was in his collection, and is entered in his 'Biblioteca Petrarchesca,'[1] with the note, 'The original from which the verses found in this volume are taken is preserved in the Vatican Library. Although it forms but a portion of the Canzoniere, yet being the only original left to us of the Rime of Petrarca, I have given it place among the editions of the Canzoniere, considering the value and undoubted purity of the text.' Of this fragmentary collection, consisting of certain sonnets, a ballata, sketch of the Latin epistle 'Vir fortis,' the 'Triumph of Eternity,' and incomplete verses of Petrarch, together with sonnets by various authors addressed to Petrarch, the editor, Ubaldini, says:

It is found among the books of Fulvio Orsini preserved in the Vatican Library, and is part of the Canzoniere of the poet put together after the death of Petrarca by his friends—for the sheets containing the passage from the Trionfi have a different pagination from the others, and the leaves are not arranged chronologically. That they were written by the hand of Messer Francesco is most clear, for none but the author could have had the audacity to put a hand to the writings, and much less to note the year, the month, the day, and the hour of their composition or revision. Where one is written by his copyists, that is retouched, erased, changed or supplemented by him. I cannot be persuaded, however, that this is the last copy which he made, for the contrary is proved when one reads repeatedly, *Transcriptum per me in alia papyro.*

In truth, there has never been a question of the authenticity of the manuscript thus reproduced by Ubaldini in 1642, originally twenty loose sheets of

[1] Milano, P. E. Giusti, 1826.

paper (ff. 17, 18 included in Ubaldini's reproduction have long since disappeared), of writing much varied, its *postillae* dating from 1336 to 1374. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the manuscript was employed in the collation of cod. Casanatense 924; later it passed into the hands of Pietro Bembo, then to his son Torquato, who, in 1581, sold it to Fulvio Orsini, who, in 1600, bequeathed it to the Vatican, where it has since been preserved and shown as Codex Vaticanus latinus 3196. In the Inventory of Orsini it is numbered 2, and is thus described: 'Petrarca li sonetti, canzone et capitoli scritti di mano sua in papiro con molte mutationi in foglio et ligato in velluto rosino.' It has been twice reproduced in facsimile—by E. Monaci, in his series 'L' Archivio paleografico italiano,' vol. I., tav. 52-71, and, in 1895, by the Vatican Library. A precious human document indeed is this bundle of script, with its erasures, alterations, repetitions—in which one seems to see photographed the Fashioner of the Rime, intent with mind and hand, tracing, line upon line, the immortal lyrics. Interesting as it is, however, it leaves still to seek the (1) *originalem librum* of Bartolomeo Valdezocco[1] (1472), and the *scritto di mano medesima del poeta* of Bembo (1501), which call for a manuscript entire of the Canzoniere.[2]

[1] The abbreviated 'Bar. de Valde.' is thus expanded by Morelli in his edition of the Rime, 1799.

[2] With regard to the Stagnino edition of 1513, it is the judgment of Carducci that it may be neglected as having no bearing on the quest, for its claim of an autograph source is made at the end for the 'Triomphi,' and not for the 'Canzoniere.' Mention should

Going back to the Poet himself, it is well known that he affected to hold in slight estimation his compositions in the vulgar tongue. The verses had a wide circulation and much vogue in his day. To Boccaccio, who had burned his own verses in despair because of their inferiority to the sonnets in praise of Laura, Petrarch wrote that he himself had often thought of doing the same thing, and probably would have done so had they not become so widely circulated as to be beyond his control.[1] To one Giovanni of Arezzo (Giovanni di Matteo Feo?), who had expressed the wish to collect all or his Italian compositions, he writes[2] acknowledging the honour, and suggesting the need of correcting what would be found here and there—often in the hands of people of little intelligence. A year or two before his death he sends to Pandolfo Malatesta[3] a copy of the 'Cose volgari,' with many apologies for their extravagancies of sentiment and excuses for the indifferent writing, because of the

be made also of the edition of Hieronymo Soncino, the Hebrew printer of Fano, who issued in 1503 'Opere volgari di Messer Francesco Petrarca.' In the letter 'a gli lectori,' defending his introduction of the passage beginning 'Nel cor pien d'amarissima dolceza' (rejected by Aldo), as 'capitolo I. del Triompho della Fama,' he says, 'Having in certain places deviated from the order followed by him who before me printed these works of Petrarca in cursive letters, and especially in the "Triumphs," I state as the reason which has chiefly persuaded me to do this the fact that the copy was taken from the original by the hand of the author himself.' Soncino here apparently claims an autograph source for the Triomphi only. It is interesting to note that the Stagnino (1513) edition has Soncino's arrangement of the capitoli of the 'Triumph of Fame.'

[1] 'Senili,' v. 2. [2] *Ibid.* xiii. 4. [3] *Ibid.* xiii. 10, Varia 9.

scarcity of good copyists. He mentions in the accompanying letter other pieces he has, so worn and torn that one can scarcely read them, for which he has left space in the copy sent—these he will send later if he can get them in shape. From the time of this letter, written 4th January, 1373, to 6th November, 1472, the date of Valdezocco's printing,[1] the history of the autograph is a matter of conjecture only. In Padua, 4th April, 1370, Petrarch, then a resident canon of the Church, made his will, naming as his second heir in case of the death of his son-in-law, Francesco da Brossano, Lombardo della Seta, a friend and literary comrade. It is known that Lombardo had in his possession many of the Poet's works, transcribing them for the use of scholars. It is narrated by Jacopo Morelli, for example,[2] that Niccolo Niccoli, a Florentine man of letters, and Fra Tebaldo della Casa, a Benedictine monk, repaired to Padua not many years after the death of Petrarch to make copies of his works. Morelli continues 'at that time remained [in Padua] likewise the original of the "Canzoniere" of Petrarca from which was prepared the edition of Padua, 1472, the same perhaps which Cardinal Bembo had and used for the edition of 1501 made by Aldo, which afterwards passed to Fulvio Orsini, and by him was

[1] It is not to be forgotten that two editions of the Rime were printed before Valdezocco's—that of Vindelinus de Spira [Venice], 1470, and that of Georg Lauer (as it is supposed), Roma, 1471.

[2] 'Della pubblica libreria di S. Marco in Venezia,' in his 'Operette,' Venice, 1820. Tom. i. pp. 9-10.

donated to the Libreria Vaticana, *and served for the edition of Rome* 1642, *edited by F. Ubaldini.*'[1]

Among the works thus left in the possession of Lombardo della Seta was very probably the Poet's revision of his 'Rerum vulgarium fragmenta.' In Padua it seems to have remained, and there it was used by Valdezocco for the edition of 1472. In the thirty years that follow are produced as many editions, from presses of Venice, Bologna, Milan, generally with the commentary of Francesco Filelfo, none of them naming manuscript sources except the one bearing the imprint of Leonardus Achates in 1474, which was a reprint of the Valdezocco edition.

In 1501, Aldo Manuzio, a scholar who had learned Latin at Rome, Greek at Verona, and had taught them to a prince, established in Venice, the metropolis of Italian printing, a press devoted to the publication of classical literature—its fame, already illustrious, destined to endure while the knowledge of books remains. Cunning workmen he attached to the enterprise—designers, engravers, type-cutters—among them, one Francesco da Bologna for a year and a day cast his fortunes with

[1] Morelli was not the first to contribute to this confusion of the Vatican cod. Lat. 3196 with the original of the Aldine edition. Apostolo Zeno, in notes on the life of Bembo by Giovanni Casa ('Degl' istorici delle cose Veneziane tomo ii.; Le istorie Veneziane latinamente scritte da Pietro cardinale Bembo,' 1718, p. xv.), has, *Italica Petrarchae carmina priusquam tanta cura tantaque cum sua laude ederet idem Aldus anno M. D. I. cum eo codice contulit scripto, qui tum Bembi erat, nunc in Vaticana bibliotheca servatur, atque autographum opus creditur, unde variantes illas lectiones exscripsit, quae editae sunt, Federicus Ubaldinus.*

the scholar-printer, and designed for the Latin texts a new sort of type called the cursive, or chancelleresque, 'and it was he who cut all the fonts of letters from which Aldo ever printed, as well as the present font, with a grace and beauty that speak for themselves,' says Soncino in the Fano edition. Having launched the new types in the Aldine Virgil of 1501, Aldo, thinking no doubt how prettily they would dress Italian words, determined to try them on the beloved Rime of Petrarca.[1] The novelty and beauty of the printing excited the admiration of book-lovers, and other printers, quick to profit by the new fancy of their patrons, imitated these types, and even sought to have Francesco cut them similar fonts, whereupon Aldo petitioned the Signoria of Venice not to

[1] A lingering tradition started by A. Firmin Didot (Alde Manuce à Venise, Paris, 1872, p. 163) from the passage in *Aldo a gli lettori* (Le cose volgari di F. Petrarca, f. 191a): et dal quale [scritto di sua mano] questa forma a lettra per lettra è levata . . . is pleasingly rehearsed by D. W. Amram ('The makers of Hebrew books in Italy,' Philadelphia, 1909, pp. 99-100): 'There was a famous engraver of Bologna, Francesco Griffo, who had cut many types for Aldo, and to whom Aldo showed one of his most precious possessions, acquired from a Paduan scholar—a copy of the poems of Messer Francesco Petrarca, written in Petrarca's own beautiful hand. "Make me types even like these letters of our divine poet!" and forthwith Francesco cut the counterfeit of the beautiful letters which enshrined the still more beautiful thought of the poet. Thereupon young Pietro Bembo, not yet the cardinal-poet sought in all the courts of Italy, edited the text, and there appeared in July, 1501, "Le cose volgari di Messer Francesco Petrarca," first of all Italian "Aldine" books.' Messer Francesco did indeed write in beautiful characters, but the types cut by Francesco da Bologna bear a far closer resemblance to the early sixteenth century hand of Bembo, as it appears in his transcript of the Canzoniere (cod. Vat. 3197), than to that of Petrarch.

permit any other to make or imitate the Greek or the cursive Latin letters for ten years.

This little book of 192 leaves, four by six inches, entered upon an interesting existence, exciting admiration, not only, but its full share of controversy, as well. There were critics on the earth in those days of July, 1501, who, at the first look, before the book was fairly on sale, lifted the brow a little. 'Why did the printer give *volgare* and not *vulgare*, why *canzoni* and not *canzone* . . . what, indeed, about the *scritto di mano medesima del poeta*'—and Aldo held back his stock,[1] until he could prepare and insert an explanatory and reaffirming statement under the caption 'Aldo a gli lettori,' in which he gave reasons for his orthography, and said that if they found in this text differences from that with which they were acquainted, they would still do well to accept it and thus get at the true sense of the author—for it was taken from the text most carefully written by himself on parchment, which he had left to those who should come after him, 'which I have seen in the hands of the aforesaid M. Piero Bembo, who has other autograph writings of our poet, and this text formed from it is prepared letter by letter in such wise that, with all respect to my censors, it is without errors.'[2]

[1] A. Hortis, 'Catalogo delle opere di F. Petrarca esistenti nella Petrarchesea Rossettiana di Trieste,' 1874, p. 24.

[2] An interesting document (published by Ferrazzi—'Enciclopedia dantesca,' Bassano, 1871, vol. iv., p. 304) is the Privilege granted, 26th June, 1501, by the Collegio di Rialto della Republica di Venezia for the printing of the Petrarca: *Intesa la dimanda del*

Aldo, thus doing his best to establish the authenticity of his edition, did indeed, as M. de Nolhac has said, lay the foundation of a persistent tradition to the effect that Bembo had in his possession the original manuscript of the Canzoniere. The Paduan editor of 1472 made his statement to a public not sufficiently curious to challenge its veracity. Neither Aldo nor Bembo seem to have been acquainted with it. Literary progress is manifest in the curiosity and scepticism met by the Aldine. Confirmation of the genuineness of Aldo's claim appears in a document found in the archives of Mantua, first published by Armand Baschet.[1] This is a letter of Lorenzo da Pavia, writing as the agent of Isabella Gonzaga, the 26th of July, 1501. The princess having asked him to procure for her copies 'in carta bona' of the Virgil, Petrarch and Ovid printed by Manuzio, he says in reply, 'The Petrarca is not yet finished, but will be in about ten days. Only fifteen copies are done on fine paper, because of scarcity of the paper. Your Highness shall, nevertheless, have one of the Petrarcas, outside of the fifteen, and they have promised that your copy shall be selected leaf by leaf, in order that your Highness may have the most beautiful one, which is the more easily effected

nobil huomo Sier Carlo Bembo de Sier Bernardo doctor et cavalier, quale havendo cum summa sua diligentia et cura trovato uno Petrarcha et uno Dante, scripti de mano propria de ipsi Petrarcha et Dante, desideraria per essere correttissimi quelli far imprimere et stampare in questa città . . . (with exclusive right for ten years). Why the 'Privilege' is taken out by the brother of Bembo is not quite evident.

[1] 'Aldo Manuzio,' Venice, 1867.

since this publication is made by [Aldo] in conjunction with M. Piero Bembo, who is most devoted to your Highness. He it was who procured the manuscript, which Petrarca wrote with his own hand, to use. This manuscript I too have had in my hands. It belongs to a Paduan, who valued it so highly that he has had it printed thus, letter by letter, with the utmost care.'

Counter testimony appears in the statement of Alessandro Vellutello of Lucca in the preface of his edition, 'Le volgari opere del Petrarcha.'[1] He justifies a change in the order of the poems of the 'Canzoniere' by assuming that the Poet did not leave them arranged, but upon separate leaves, one editor after another having followed the arrangement of the first. Quoting Aldo's claim as to the original, he says: 'Messer Pietro Bembo, with whom I have spoken of this matter, says that this work was prepared, not from the original of the Poet, as Aldo would have it, but from certain early texts, and especially the sonetti and canzoni from one which we have seen, and which is to-day in Padua in the possession of Messer Danielle da Santa Sophia.' This statement seems never to have been contradicted by Bembo, who the same year, in his 'Prose nelle quali si ragiona della volgar lingua,' cites[2] from some sheets he has seen *scritte di mano medesima del poeta*, 'in which were certain passages of his verse which in those leaves showed that he had revised them after he had composed them: some were entire, some clipped off, others cancelled

[1] Vinegia, Fratelli da Sabbio, 1525.

[2] f. xxiiii.

in many places and changed many times'—words which describe the actual appearance of the fragmentary collection (cod. 3196) as we know it to-day.

Lodovico Beccadelli, archbishop of Ragusa (1502-72), wrote a life of Petrarch. First published in Tomasini's 'Petrarcha redivivus' (Patavii, 1650), it was largely added to by Morelli in his edition of the 'Rime di Francesco Petrarca,'[1] from the manuscript of Fontanini. In this edition occurs the following passage relating to manuscripts of Petrarch :

The folios written by his hand I have seen. They are of two sorts. The first were the ones which Monsignor Bembo showed me in Padua in 1530, when I was staying there, which he kept with great care among many other treasures in his study. They were in greater part sonetti and canzoni. The others, in the same hand, I saw ten years later in the possession of Monsignor M. Baldassare da Pescia, clerk of the Chamber, who had them, I know not whence, to send to King Francis of France. They were almost all the Trionfi, from that of Death to that of Time. These writings were certainly by his hand, for not only were the letters formed as in other things which he had left written, the lines were corrected and erased as no one but the author himself could have done. And I noticed that the writings were of two kinds. The one more confused and in separate leaves, the other in *miglior carta* and arranged, without interlines and glosses, whence it is clearly seen that the one was the first sketch, so to speak, of his composition, the other was arranged after the index (registro) with accurate references.

[1] Verona, Giuliari, 1799.

These manuscripts, as Monsignor Bembo told me, were at the death of Petrarca left in the hands of his heirs, or of some friend, who he thought was Lombardo della Seta of Padua, the friend so dear to whom are many allusions in the Latin writings. These or others preserved them and left them to others still, who held them in great care, and we have seen that the first impression was made of the Rime in Padua, ninety-eight years after the death of Petrarca, in 1472 . . . in which the printers said that they had taken it from the original. This is easy to believe, since the spelling is the same which he left, and the printers were not careless as to what makes a good text. . . . Thus in Padua was first printed the 'Canzoniere' of Petrarca, and afterwards in many other places, and it was prepared from the same manuscript which, as Bembo says, was kept, as he thinks, to the time when Padua was sacked by the Germans in 1509, since which time the same folios have been seen. Some soldier may have taken those books and scattered them, and the leaves coming to the hands of a discerning person, were preserved as holy relics—those which I have mentioned, and perhaps others of which I have no knowledge.

Bernardino Daniello da Lucca, in 1541, dedicating an edition of the 'Sonetti Canzoni e Triomphi di Messer Francesco Petrarcha' to the Bishop of Brescia, writes: 'Your Reverence will thus have many things omitted by the other expositors—things concerning the sense, as well as the style, not to mention different readings in many places, taken from *gli scritti di man propria del Petrarcha.*' In 1549 this is republished 'ad instanza di Gioambattista Pederzano,' who addresses the reader: 'You have besides, a brief discourse upon divers readings

taken from the manuscript *di man propria di esso poeta*.'

In 1544 Bembo, then cardinal and living at Rome, received from Girolamo Quirini, writing from Venice, information of an autograph of the Canzoniere found at Padua. Bembo urges Quirini to procure the book if possible. 'It must be the one I have been seeking,' he writes, and to make identification possible, he sends to Quirini his autograph manuscript of the Latin Eclogues of Petrarch, 'written in his hand also on parchment, as was that one. . . . That had only the sonnets and the canzoni—not the triumphs. . . . It was not written in finished form and beautiful letters throughout, as is this one of his Bucolica. The original Petrarca had nowhere any postillae, as you write. This makes me more certain that the one you describe may be the same that I have seen.'

That the testimony noted thus far is in certain points confusing is to be admitted. From the letter just cited it is evident that Bembo had never owned the manuscript, as might be inferred from Aldo's expression *havuto da M. Piero Bembo*, but he had seen it and noted its pages. That he had used it to the extent implied in preparing an edition from it is certainly not suggested. Aldo's subscription is made at the end of the 'Triomphi,' whereas Bembo says explicitly that the 'Triomphi' were wanting in the manuscript with which he was acquainted. V. Cian, in a review of De Nolhac's 'La bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini,'[1] cites from a

[1] 'Giornale Storico,' xi. 244.

letter of Bembo to his secretary Cola Bruno, dated 10th December, 1540: 'Look at those folios written in Petrarca's hand in the cypress box, where are some parts of chapters of the "Trionfi"; if that of the Divinità is there, see the lines: *Vedrassi quanto in van cura* . . . See how these are written, and send me a copy.' The unaccountable statement in the 'Privilege' of the autograph of Dante in the possession of Sier Carlo Bembo has, above all, a curious ring. These and other things lead one critic of to-day[1] to the firm conclusion that the history of the autograph Canzoniere begins with Bembo's acquisition of it in 1544. Lorenzo di Pavia no doubt, Salvo Cozzo thinks, wrote his letter in good faith, but he was not a palaeographer, and merely echoed reports which Aldo, in complicity with Bembo, took pains to spread to lay the foundation of a splendid falsehood which was to inaugurate the golden age of Petrarchism. 'But why in his second edition of 1514 does he omit the statement of the autograph source? Aldo indeed, in petitioning the "Privilege" for the two works, practised a double deception, but perceiving the distrust of his contemporaries he sought to repair the first, and he never carried out the second.' A number of years before Salvo Cosso, Adolfo Borgognoni took a good deal of pains to make out the case against Bembo's ownership or handling of the autograph in 1501, contending that he had in the preparation of his text

[1] G. Salvo Cozzo, 'Il "codice Vaticano 3195," e l'edizione aldina del 1501.'

copied the Valdezocco, save for certain arbitrary variations.[1]

In 1544, at any rate, Bembo did through Girolamo Quirini, aided by Benedetto Ramberti, librarian of Saint Mark's, Venice, for the sum of 80 zecchini, become the owner of the autograph designated in the correspondence already quoted. He writes to Quirini, 20th September, 1544, expressing keen gratification over the acquisition: 'I cannot say how greatly I prize it. If my friend were to give me five hundred zecchini I would not give it to him.' Friends shared his pleasure and profited by his good fortune. Cod. Vat. 4787, the Canzoniere of Petrarch once in possession of Angelo Colocci (1467-1549), has various notes of Colocci made from collation with an autograph of Petrarch, as the following: 'ita enim est ordo in libro digitis d. F. Petrarcae scripto, quem vidi'—'Hic ordo est in libro F. Petr'—the collation probably made from Bembo's treasure. Lodovico Dolce[2] cites the Bembo manuscript: 'I have seen in the collection of the Most Reverend Bembo, in a manuscript so early that it is affirmed to be by the Poet himself'—as authority for corrections made in the edition he prepared for the press of Gabriele Giolito. Dolce, however, in a letter to Benedetto Varchi, dated 17th June, 1553 (the 'Osservazioni' were first published in 1550), replying

[1] 'Se Monsignor Pietro Bembo abbia mai avuto un codice autografo del canzoniere del Petrarca; lettera a T. L.' Ravenna, 1877.

[2] 'Osservazioni nella volgar lingua,' 6ª ed., Vinegia, 1560, p. 43.

to Varchi's criticism of a certain reading based upon the Aldine text, writes: 'You know well, Sr. Varchi, that Aldo, in the first Petrarca which he printed, says that the copy was taken from the manuscript in the handwriting of the Poet possessed by Bembo. But you know also that Bembo had no other autograph than a few fragments. Aldo then, to meet the charge of temerity from the unintelligent, resorted to a falsehood for the good of all concerned.'

Bembo dying in 1547, left to his son Torquato his libraries of Padua and of Rome, with other art collections. Duly prized by Torquato was the original of the 'Canzoniere,' and scholars were permitted by him to examine it. Girolamo Ruscelli judged it not by the hand of Petrarch. In the preface to his edition of 'Il Petrarca'[1] he says he has collated his text with the manuscript of Monsignor Bembo, now possessed by Monsignor Torquato Bembo, and 'for many reasons it is believed by many to be in the hand of Petrarca himself, nevertheless, I (to maintain in literary matters the sincerity due to my readers) am for many other reasons in doubt about it.' Vincenzo Borghini, writing to Filippo Giunti in 1562, dwells upon the imperfect orthography of the old writers, all of whom were bad spellers, 'even to the autograph of Petrarca.'[2] Basilio Zanchi made a collation of the manuscript in January, 1546, and

Venetia, Pietrasanta, 1554.

[2] 'Raccolti di prose fiorentine' [by C. R. Dati]. Venezia, 1751, pfe. 4 vol. iv., pp. 80-1.

wrote in his copy of the Aldine edition printed in 1546 (now in the Vatican Library), 'Ex Basilij Zanchij exemplari cum archetypo manu Petrarchae (ut creditur) scripto, collato 1557 mens. Jan. Die Divi Antonii.' Antonio Maria Amadi, in 'Annotazioni sopra una canzone morale,' Padova, 1565, pp. 51-52, referring to the line 'Senno a non cominciare tropp'alte imprese,' says to the suggestion that Petrarch may have written, not *cominciare*, but *cominciar:* 'It is so in the original and authentic [MS.] by the hand of Petrarca himself, which is kept as a holy relic to-day by Monsignor Bembo, in whose hands I have seen it—*cominciare*, not *cominciar*.'

On the 4th December, 1574, Fulvio Orsini, the most accomplished bibliophile of his time, wrote to his friend Gianvincenzo Pinelli, a man of similar tastes and pursuits, then associated with Torquato Bembo, asking his aid in negotiating with Bembo for certain precious manuscripts included in the legacy from the cardinal. He held himself ready to exchange certain statues and curios for the books. In August of the following year Pinelli sends to Orsini a list of the treasures of the library at Padua, ending with the autograph 'Carmen bucolicum' and 'Canzoniere' of Petrarch. Bembo seems to have been a difficult man to drive a trade with, and the negotiation proceeds slowly. In the spring of 1581 Torquato makes a journey to Rome, where a personal interview results in the long desired possession by Orsini of the Petrarch autographs, the 'Carmen bucolicum,' the folios of 3196, the 'Canzoniere,' for which a marble bust of

Hadrian is given in exchange. Felicitations were forthcoming. Cardinal de Granvelle writes from Madrid: *Gran tesoro ha havuto V. S. dal nepote del Bembo havendo l'aftographo del Petrarca di quelle sue opere che V. S. dice, tesoro nuovo accresciuto alla sua libreria.* Teobaldi, canon of San Giovanni in Laterano, writes to Ferdinand, Grand Duke of Tuscany, of the event (2nd April, 1581), suggesting that the manuscript would be the most fitly owned by his highness, and expressing the hope that Signor Fulvio Orsini would some day see fit to bestow it upon the Grand Duke. Angelo Rocca, in 1591, describing libraries of Rome,[1] devotes a paragraph to that of Orsini, with especial mention of the Petrarch *liber ipsius auctoris manu conscriptus.* Literary criticism of the period gives now and then a glimpse of the treasure. The comment of Girolamo Fracchetta on Guido Cavalcanti's canzone 'Donna me prega,'[2] cites a passage from Petrarch, 'The Canzoniere which is believed to be in his own hand, formerly possessed by Cardinal Bembo, and now by Fulvio Orsini,' and Girolamo Muzio, alluding to the old controversy in his 'Battaglie,'[3] under the caption 'Che nelle stampe del Petrarca sono pochi errori,' says: 'Although it is indeed believed that the editions of Aldo came from the originals of Petrarca, this does not prove that they contain no errors.'

Fulvio Orsini is the possessor of the manuscript from 1581 until his death in 1600. His rich col-

[1] 'Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana,' p. 401.
[2] Venezia, 1585, f. 122.
[3] Vinegia, 1582.

lection of books he bequeathed to the Vatican Library, preparing with his own hands a list of them, and requesting that each book and manuscript should for ever bear note of its source. In a number of instances this note either was neglected or was lost, and thus it came about that the autograph Canzoniere bore no mark of its source or its character as an original. First in Orsini's list, it was thus described: '1. Petrarca le canzone et sonetti scritti di mano sua in carta pergamena in foglio et ligato di velluto paonazo,' followed by '2. Petrarca li sonetti, canzone et capitoli scritti di mano sua in papiro con molte mutationi in foglio et ligato in velluto rosino.' De Nolhac[1] says that in the inventory of Orsini's books prepared by Rainaldi in 1602, numbers 1 and 2 are wanting. Tomasini's 'Petrarcha redivivus,' published 1630, 1635, 1650, 1735, in successive editions, with its variety of interesting material, has a chapter 'Francisci Petrarchae Opera MS. quae asseruantur in Bibliotheca Vaticana,' prepared by Leone Allacci, in which one finds (pp. 39-40 of the two earlier editions): 'Carmina Italica. *Voi che ascoltate* . . . scriptum autographum Petrarchæ 3195 ex perg. in fol.'; and in the manuscript catalogue of the Vatican Library, prepared by the brothers Rainaldi early in the seventeenth century, and still in use, is the entry: '3195. Francisci Petrarchae rerum vulgarium opera . . . Ex pergameno c. s. no. 72, Antiq. manu propria Auctoris'—a remarkable, if not a solitary, instance of the futility of the library

[1] 'Le canzoniere autographe,' p. 25.

catalogue as a means of enlightenment concerning library contents. Notwithstanding the fact that this catalogue has always been accessible, Narducci, in his 'Catalogo dei codici petrarcheschi delle biblioteche Barberina, Chigiana, Corsiniana, Vallicelliana e Vaticana,' Roma, 1874, makes the entry: 'Vat. 3195. Rime. Codice membranaceo del secolo xiv. A car. 1, *Francisci Petrarche laureati poete Rerum vulgarium fragmenta.*' . . . with no note of its reputed source.

It was not, however, entirely unknown in succeeding years. The 'Mescolanze'[1] of Gilles Ménage contains a letter of the Accademia della Crusca to Ménage and G. Cappellano on a disputed reading of the verse *Forse, o che spero!* . . . in which is cited 'The original manuscript by the hand of the author which is preserved in the Libreria Vaticana, no. 3195.' The letter is dated 8th October, 1654, and is signed 'Lo Smarrito,' the academic pseudonym of Carlo Roberto Dati. Cresoimbene's 'Istoria della volgar poesia,' published in 1698, 1714, 1730-31, has,[2] 'As to manuscripts, we have seen two in the Vatican, one by the hand of the author himself, which is cod. 3195, the other in the hand of Bembo.' With the imprint 'Berlino e Stralsunda presso Amadeo Augusto Lange' was published in 1785, 'Le rime italiane del Petrarca . . . edizione di Giuseppe Valenti'—reprinted in 1799. The preface (1799) has (p. xvii.): 'In the Vatican Library are preserved two manuscripts of the

[1] 2ª ed. Rotterdamo, 1692, p. 40.
[2] Vol. ii., p. 302 (1731).

poetic works of Petrarca, one in his own hand (codice 3195), the other written by Bembo (codice 3197).' It is added that in the 'Biblioteca di Firenze' are shown two manuscripts which the Accademia della Crusca prefers to those of the Vatican. Baldelli's 'Del Petrarca e delle sue opere libri quattro,' 1797, mentions p. 225, 'The famous autograph manuscript of the Canzoniere possessed by the Vatican Library, and formerly owned by the celebrated Cardinal Bembo, from which was made by Aldo the edition of 1501.'

During this period cod. Vat. 3195 seems indeed to have been known rather generally as a reputed autograph, while the testimony of palaeographers is against its authenticity. Thus Pierantonio Serassi, editor of the Petrarch Rime,[1] writes from Rome to P. Antonio Evangelii, 1st February, 1777,[2] a letter concerning a manuscript of Petrarch's poetical epistle to Giovanni di Dondi, in which he says: 'I had examined many years ago all the manuscripts of Petrarca found in the Vatican, and particularly the two believed to be autographs. At the first glance I saw that this one sent by you was more like the writing of codex 3195, thought by some to be the original, than that of the Fragments, which are undoubtedly by the hand of Petrarca, and which form the codex Vaticanus 3196. Examining again the manuscripts and comparing them with the sheet sent, I can say assuredly that its characters have very little likeness

[1] Bergamo, Lancellotti, 1746, 1752.

[2] De Nolhac: 'De patrum et medii aevi scriptorum codicibus in bibliotheca Petrarcae,' Paris, 1892, pp. 45-6.

to those of the manuscript of the Fragments . . . while the writing of 3195 is certainly very similar to this epistle to Dondi ; but I do not believe that this codex (3195) is by the hand of Petrarca, although I think it may have been written for the Poet by a careful copyist, and may thus be called original because it came by direction from the hands of the author. . . . The letter to Giovanni Dondi may then be regarded as original, written by an amanuensis of the author, perhaps the same one who wrote Codex 3195.' And in 1799 Jacopo Morelli, librarian of the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, preparing his edition of the Rime[1], engaged his friend Gaetano Marini, custodian of archives in the Vatican, to examine 'il codice Vaticano marcato col numero 3185' [*sic*] which he had seen listed as an autograph by Tomasini, referred to by Menagio, and which he suspects may be the manuscript *scritto di mano medesima del Poeta hauuto da Messer Piero Bembo.* The report is[2] 'The codex 3195 is on parchment and is beautiful and clear, is certainly not by the hand of the author, though of his time, and written in a hand resembling the Petrarch, which was also beautiful, as I have been convinced by the comparison with the *Frammenti originali.* It has no *postillae*, nor the Trionfi, but the Sonetti and the Canzoni. The Fragments are numbered 3196, are on paper, the same which were published by Federigo Ubaldini.' This report Morelli accepts as final.

[1] Verona, Stamperia Guiliari.
[2] Morelli's Preface, pp. x.-xi.

In this judgment the editors of the nineteenth century rested. So zealous a student of Petrarch as Meneghelli in 1809 has nothing to say of autographs except as the source of Ubaldini's edition, and as described by Beccadelli.[1] We have seen how Marsand in 1820 had no dream of an existing autograph, and it is scarcely mentioned by his successors. In 1825 a stir was made among Petrarch scholars by the report, first published in the 'Giornale arcadico' of Rome, that an Italian, Luigi Arrighi, had discovered in St. Petersburg the veritable autograph used by Bembo. A monograph by Arrighi was published by the Department of Public Instruction of St. Petersburg, and reprinted by G. Silvestri in Milan in 1826, with the title: 'Illustrazioni e dichiarazioni intorno ad un codice autografo delle poesie volgari di Francesco Petrarca, scoperto e posseduto dal Signor Cavaliere Luigi Arrighi in Pietroburgo.' Of its claim to authenticity Marsand says[2] that the annotations of the editor of the monograph (signing himself A. M. F. I.) sufficiently disprove it, and show that the text was not only unauthentic but bad. Friedrich Blume, in his 'Iter Italicum[3],' discussing the disposition of Bembo's manuscript, says that the Petrarch autograph is sought in vain in the Vatican. He then cites the claim of Arrighi, with the observation that no credence is given it by Italian scholars. In 1867 Cristoforo Pasqualigo

[1] 'Saggio sopra il canzoniere del Petrarca.' Venezia, 1812, p. 12.

[2] 'Bibliotheca petrarchesca,' p. 209.

[3] Halle, 1824-36, vol. iii., p. 183.

essays certain 'Varianti e correzioni ai Trionfi di Francesca Petrarca tratte dai migliori codici a penna e dalle più antiche stampe.' On the subject of the Aldine of 1501 and its source, he says: 'If the manuscript was indeed an autograph it is difficult to understand how during the whole sixteenth century it should have been counted as lost, no one mentioning it any more, unless we accept as fact the hypothesis that it was destroyed by German soldiers in the sack of Padua. In 1876 Carducci, as we have seen, considers the text established by Marsand. The Aldine tradition he accepts, citing Beccadelli's account of the matter, with no suggestion as to the fate of the precious source. A year later Borgognoni published the conclusions already summarized. Twice during the century was Vellutello's experiment of changing the order of the poems of the 'Canzoniere' repeated, by Meneghelli in his edition of Padova, V. Crescini, 1819, and by Luigi Domenico Spadi in 'Il Canzoniere di Francesco Petrarca riordinato,' Firenze, A. Bettini, 1858. (Spadi places the sonnet, *Voi ch'ascoltate* . . . at the end of the 'Sonetti e canzoni in vita di Laura.') Interest in the question of the Aldine and the autograph, and Bembo's actual use of it, did not, however, become extinct. Naturally, when a scholar such as Vittorio Cian comes to the study of the poet cardinal,[1] he does not omit discussion of it. It is Cian who brings to bear upon it the letter of Lorenzo di

[1] 'Un decennio della vita di M. Pietro Bembo,' 1521-31. Torino, 1885.

Pavia, and, indeed, he reviews the whole matter most completely, maintaining that Bembo had and used the autograph in the Aldine.

In a review of Cian's study published in the 'Revue Critique' the 4th of January, 1886, M. Pierre de Nolhac concludes with the interesting words: 'In order to reassure M. Cian as to Bembo's literary veracity, I cannot resist the pleasure of informing him that the precious autograph is again come to light. One of my friends has confided to me that he has had his hand upon the manuscript; his discovery—such it appears—will bear no resemblance to the mystification of 1825. He cannot yet make public the result of his researches, but he has promised not to carry his secret with him to the grave.' M. de Nolhac was at the time a student at the École de Rome, and was delving among the Orsini treasures in the Vatican, in the preparation of his history of that famous collection. Associated with him was the 'friend,' M. Ernest Langlois. The full account of the discovery that cod. Vat. 3195 was indeed the manuscript finally authorized by the Poet, written in part by his own hand and wholly under his revision, and its identification with the original of the Aldine edition, was communicated by M. de Nolhac in a paper presented to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, 24th May, 1886, and was published in a brochure of 150 copies under the title 'Le Canzoniere autographe de Pétrarque.'

At the same time that M. de Nolhac's researches were going on, Dr. Arthur Pakscher, a young German scholar, was engaged in a study of the

Provençal Canzoniere contained in cod. Vat. 3208 —number 22 of the 'Nota di libri vulgari scritti in penna' in the catalogue of Fulvio Orsini. Number 1 of the same list, then unidentified with any Vatican codex, was the already noted 'Petrarca le canzone et sonetti scrutti di mano sua. . . .' Pakscher's interest was aroused, with the result that on 16th May, 1886, he likewise submitted to a learned society a memoir setting forth the grounds of his conclusion that this number 1 was none other than cod. Vat. 3195, and at the session, 20th June, of the Accademia dei Lincei of Rome, Professors d'Ancona and Monaci reported upon the Memoir.[1] In the 'Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie' of the same year,[2] Pakscher published 'Aus einem Katalog des Fulvius Ursinus' giving his account of the matter. In the 'Nachtrag' he presses somewhat eagerly his claim to priority or publication, pointing out that his discovery was reported eight days earlier than De Nolhac's. Mr. Willard Fiske, in a letter to the 'Nation' of 18th August, 1886, observed: 'The controversy thereby initiated is not likely to be less bitter in that the two adversaries are of different nationalities.' Happily, the learned world, accepting a conclusion thus reinforced, gave to each at once full credit for original discovery, and there was mutual recognition instead of a quarrel. Italians may have felt a certain chagrin at their own inertia—'Così noi Italiani mercé la sbadataggine e trascuranza nostra

[1] Pakscher's Memoir was not published—see the Academy's 'Rendiconti,' vol. ii., serie 4, seduta del 20 giugno 1886.

[2] Bd. x., pp. 205-45.

dobbiamo chiamarci grati ai dotti stranieri che vengano a rimetterci in possesso di ciò che noi avevamo abbandonato all'obblio, che vengano a restituirne la conoscenza di ciò che noi ci eravamo indurati a ignorare.'[1]

The importance of the discovery, or rediscovery, was thus commented on by Mr. Fiske, in the letter cited: 'It naturally puts an end, so far as the whole of Petrarch's Italian verse is concerned, to all discussion in regard to the text. It renders more doubtful than ever, even if it does not completely disprove, the genuineness of those innumerable sonnets and canzoni which the literati have exhumed from various repositories of manuscripts and edited, *per nozze* or otherwise, as compositions of Petrarch, omitted from his printed works.[2] It establishes the fact that the modest title bestowed by Petrarch upon his Italian lyrics was "Rerum vulgarium fragmenta"—that is, "Fragments in the Italian Tongue."' It may be added that the knowledge of the author's order of the verses, thus established, furnishes a valuable clue to the critic, as to the biographer. Says M. Henry Cochin,[3] 'Hier il n'était pas possible de raisonner absolument, faute d'un texte fixe et bien assuré. Les critiques même de la pure esthétique et qui dédaignent le modeste travail de l'érudit,

[1] Carducci e Ferrari, 'Le rime di F. Petrarca,' Pref., p. xvii.

[2] Much has of course been done since these words were written, notably by Angelo Solerti in his 'Rime disperse di Francesco Petrarca o a lui attribuite, per la prima volta raccolte. Ed. postuma, con prefazione, introduzione e bibliografia,' by V. Cian. Firenze, 1909.

[3] 'Giornale storico,' lv. 140, 1910.

sont bien obligés de reconnaître que quelque chose est changé depuis que nous possédons ce texte.' One very happy result, which in our larger libraries must be admired by a large number of people, both lay and learned, is the publication by the Vatican Library (1905) of a beautiful photographic facsimile of the precious codex, with a comprehensive introduction by Mgr. Marco Vattasso. In this introduction is given a minute description of the manuscript, which consists of 72 leaves of parchment arranged in two fascicules, containing the two parts of the Canzoniere, written in beautiful Gothic minuscule characters, partly by Petrarch, partly by a copyist named Giovanni, and all revised and corrected by the Poet. Ff. 1-38^{r}, 53-62 are (except a few passages) in the hand of the copyist, and were written, Mgr. Vattasso believes, in the years 1366-1368; the autograph portion, ff. 38^{v}-49^{r} 63-72, (ff. 49^{v}-52 are blank), and the revision were begun a little later by Petrarch, and carried on up to the end of his life. An index of three pages prepared by a later hand precedes the text.[1]

It remains to indicate some conclusions of critics as to the early editions—that of Padua, 1472, and the Aldine of 1501. Of those who have prepared editions from the autograph, Mestica agrees with M. de Nolhac that Valdezocco's statement is verified by the correspondence of the edition of

[1] For a description quite as minute and more generally accessible than this one, the reader is referred to Vattasso's admirable 'I codici petrarcheschi della Biblioteca Vaticana,' Roma, Tip. Vaticana, 1908.

1472 with the rediscovered autograph, which they regard as its source, notwithstanding many inaccuracies of printing. Ferrari inclines to this belief, but suspends judgment. Salvo Cozzo discredits it. Vattasso, from an examination of the 1474 reprint, finds satisfactory evidence that its original was cod. 3195.

The Aldine is in even more uncertain case. M. de Nolhac, certain in 1886 that he had discovered Bembo's original, retreats from this position before the arguments presented by Salvo Cozzo to the effect that Bembo first knew the autograph in 1544, and that the Aldine was printed from cod. Vat. 3197, Bembo's autograph copy of the Canzoniere, which shows many variants from 3195. In the new edition of his 'Pétrarque et l'humanisme,'[1] 1907, he admits that his first conclusion is disproved by Salvo Cozzo. Carl Appel (1891), as well as Dr. Pakscher (1886), were in agreement with De Nolhac—Pakscher, however, regarding Bembo's manuscript 3197 as copied from 3195 and itself used in the printing. Mestica believes that Bembo's copy 3197 was the manuscript used, but thinks that before giving it to the press Bembo collated it with the Petrarch autograph, which thus served as the text of the Canzoniere in the Aldine, though incompletely, and with the arbitrary variations of Bembo. Modigliani, who traces Bembo's hand here and there in 3195, believes, nevertheless, that Bembo never touched it until 1544. *Judicibus dissentientibus quis dijudicet?*

[1] 1907, tom. i., p. 109.

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pp. 156-159, a discussion as to whether the Giovanni ('Io') of the Petrarch manuscript may be Giovanni da Ravenna, the 'giovane ravennate,' concerning whom Petrarch writes to Boccaccio (*De reb. fam.* xxiii., 19). pp. 161-162, a document from G. Guastivini: 'Discorso sopra la Gierusalemme liberata,' citing a sonnet of Petrarch *scritto di sua man propria* . . .

31. Ferrari, L. Questioni e notizie petrarchesche. [Bologna, Fava e Garagnani, 1893.] 8°. pp. 12. Estratto dal Propugnatore. N. S. vol. vi., parte I., pp. 425-436.

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32. Salvo Cozzo, G. Il 'codice Vaticano 3195,' e l' edizione aldina del 1501. Roma, Tipografia Vaticana, 1893. 8°.

33. Sensi, F. [Reviews.] G. Salvo-Cozzo—Il codice Vaticana 3195; G. Mestica—Il 'canzoniere' del Petrarca nel codice originale a riscontro col ms. del Bembo e con l' edizione aldina; S. Ferrari—Questioni e notizie petrarchesche. (Giornale storico della letteratura italiana. 1894. Vol. xxiii., pp. 256-260.)

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41. Cesareo, G. A. Su l' ordinamento delle poesie volgari di Francesco Petrarca. (Giornale storico della letteratura italiana. 1892. Vol. xix., pp. 229-303; xx., pp. 91-124.)

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44. —— La nuova critica del Petrarca. (*Same.* 1897. Vol. lxviii., pp. 258-291.)

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47. Cochin, H. La chronologie du canzoniere de Pétrarque. Paris, E. Bouillon, 1898. Sm. 8°. pp. x. 160. (1). (Bibliothèque littéraire de la Renaissance.)

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49. Wullff, F. A. Petrarca's första redaktion af canz. Che debb' io far? (Uppsatser i romansck tillägnade P. A. Geiger. 1901. pp. 141-150.)

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51. Quarta, N. Studi sul testo delle rime del Pétrarca. Napoli, E. Mª Muca, 1902. 8°. pp. 156. (1).

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53. —— Pon freno al gran dolor che ti trasporta; une strophe travaillée de Pétrarque dans le ms. Vat. 3196, fol. 13 et 12. Upsala, 1905, Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckerei. 8°. pp. 70. 'Studier i modern språkvetenskap. III. 2.'

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55. Wullff, F. A. En svensk Petrarca-Bok. Stockholm, P. A. Norstedt & Söners Forlag, 1905. 8°. pp. 587. Map and plates.

56. —— Préoccupations de Pétrarque, 1359-1369, attestées par Vat. lat. 3196 fol. 1 & 2. Lund, 1907, H. Ohlsson. 8°. pp. 78. Facsim. (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift. N. F. Afd. 1, Bd. 2, Nr. 4.)

57. Sicardi, E. Per un' abrasione del Vat. lat. 3195 e per la giusta collocazione di due sonetti del Petrarca. Torino, C. Clausen, 1908. 8°. pp. 18.

58. —— Per il testo del 'canzoniere' del Petrarca. (Giornale storico. 1908. Vol. l., pp. 1-33, and later numbers.)

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FALSE DATES IN SHAKESPEARE QUARTOS.

I.

The Shakespeare Quartos of 1619. By William J. Neidig. *Modern Philology.* Chicago, October, 1910. pp. 1-19.

False Dates on Shakspere Quartos: a new method of proof applied to a controversy of scholars. By William J. Neidig, Instructor at the University of Wisconsin. *The Century Magazine*, October, 1910. pp. 912-19.

IT is a great pleasure to 'THE LIBRARY,' in which the false dates on the 'Roberts' editions of the 'Merchant of Venice' and 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' the 'T.P.' 'Sir John Oldcastle,' the 'Nathaniel Butter' edition of 'King Lear,' and the 'T.P.' 'Henry V.' were first exposed by Dr. Greg, to acknowledge the very pretty contribution to the subject made by Mr. Neidig in two magazine articles in the 'Century' and 'Modern Philology.' Dr. Greg proved his case up to the hilt by the argument from the identity of the watermarks in the quartos falsely dated 1600 and 1608 with those found in the plays of 1619, which I had discovered bound up with them; but this proof could not be

tested without an investigation of a kind from which literary scholars unanimously shrank. I think I may claim that I proved the case over again in my 'Shakespeare Folios and Quartos,' by a series of independent arguments from the types, imprints, and number of surviving copies. But neither Dr. Greg nor I could adduce an argument which could be trusted quickly to carry conviction to an untrained observer, and it is one of this crushing kind that Mr. Neidig has been clever enough to develop. He and Dr. Manly of Chicago had been thinking out a method of applying photography to the settlement of such mixed bibliographical and typographical problems. Thus, these Shakespeare title-pages offered just such an opportunity as he desired, and he has used it with great success. Shakespeare title-pages being too precious to be played with, his first need was to procure absolutely exact photographic facsimiles of all the title-pages in question, and this exactitude he obtained by the ingenious plan of photographing a millimetre rule along with each. He then plotted out each title-page into little squares, and by this means convinced himself that the words 'Written by W. Shakespeare,' the 'Heb Ddim, Heb Ddieu' device, and the word 'Printed' in the title-page of 'Pericles' dated 1619, and of the 'Merchant of Venice' dated 1600, come in precisely the same places, and demonstrated this beyond possibility of cavil by a composite photograph in which the 'Merchant of Venice' is superimposed on 'Pericles,' and the words in question come out quite sharply, and the device with only the very slightest blur,

showing that the block may have been shifted a fraction of a millimetre. The occurrence in both title-pages of an identical flaw of one kind in the W of 'Written,' and of another kind in the W of Shakespeare's initial, completes the proof that this portion of the title-page of 'Pericles' had been used again in the title-page of the 'Merchant of Venice,' and thus offered a pretty demonstration of the impossibility of their having been separated by an interval of nineteen years. Mr. Neidig thinks that the trouble-saving printer 'lifted off the lower portion' of one title-page for use in another. It seems to me more probable that he picked out all the rest of the contents of the forme, and put his new matter into the old forme, rather than risked dropping out letters by transferring the old matter to a new one; but that the same type-letters in the same setting-up were used in the 'Yorkshire Tragedy' of 1619, 'Pericles' of 1619, 'Merchant of Venice' of '1600,' and 'Merry Wives' of 1619, he has proved up to the hilt; and I think that henceforth any bookseller who sells the '1600' 'Merchant of Venice' as printed in that year will be liable to have it returned to him. For the rest of Mr. Neidig's argument readers must consult one of his two articles, that in 'Modern Philology' being the more detailed. Here, as a pleasing proof that bibliography can justify itself by various ways, I will only compare his footnote to p. 12 of that article with that on p. 93 of 'Shakespeare Folios and Quartos.' Mr. Neidig writes:

The order of the printing of these plays was this: *Whole Contention* (text and title-page), *Pericles* (text only),

Yorkshire Tragedy (text only), *Yorkshire Tragedy* (title-page), *Pericles* (title-page), *Merchant of Venice* (text and title-page), *Merry Wives* (text and title-page), *Lear* (text and title-page), *Henry V.* (text and title-page), *Sir John Oldcastle* (text and title-page). *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was printed independently.

On the basis of Dr. Greg's table of watermarks, the order proposed for the plays in the note in my book was:

Group 1: *Whole Contention*, *Pericles*, *Yorkshire Tragedy*.
Group 2: *Merry Wives*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Lear*.
Group 3: *Henry V.*, *Sir John Oldcastle*.

The title-page of the 'Midsummer Night's Dream' having been deliberately made to imitate that of the real 1600 edition (printed for Fisher), was thus taken out of Mr. Neidig's province. It seems not improbable that the 'Merchant of Venice,' the type of which agrees with that of 'Pericles,' was in progress simultaneously with the 'Merry Wives,' which is in the same large type as the 'Yorkshire Tragedy.' In any case that, save for this single transposition, two entirely different arguments should lead to identical results is surely very satisfactory, and gives one hope that the value of bibliography for the service of literary criticism may gradually be recognized.

II.

Mr. Neidig having produced a knock-down argument, which enables one to treat the falseness of the dates in question as established beyond the

possibility of dispute it is easy now to touch on a side issue without fear of causing confusion. Soon after my book was published I received an interesting letter from Mr. E. H. Dring, whose long connection with the firm of Quaritch has given him an enviable width of experience, asking me if I had ever noticed that copies of the T. P. and James Roberts issues are sometimes found with the dates torn away in a manner which suggests deliberate intent. Mr. Dring himself had been struck with this fact as many as five and twenty years ago, and on mentioning it to Mr. Kerney found that that keen judge of books had not missed the point. He could assign no reason for it, but he was sure that it had been done intentionally, and most probably when the copies were issued. Mr. Dring himself was sure that he had seen at least three copies of the 'Roberts' issue of the 'Midsummer Night's Dream' with the date thus torn out and subsequently added in facsimile, and also the 'King Lear' and 'Oldcastle.' The mutilation of the copies was the more noticeable because they were invariably large ones, the peculiarity, it may be remembered, which was found so useful in picking out the Garrick copies of these plays at the British Museum. He subsequently furnished me with a note of two copies, formerly in the possession of Mr. Quaritch, a 'Midsummer Night's Dream' described as having 'the bottom corner of the title mended, so that it has been necessary to supply the numeral of the date, large and very fine copy,' and a 'Lear' with the note 'the title mended so that the numeral of

the date has been necessarily supplied ; a very fine and large copy.'

After hearing from Mr. Dring I had an opportunity of inspecting the Gott copy of the 'Merchant of Venice,' described in Sotheby's catalogue as having 'the bottom corner of the title' in facsimile, otherwise 'in faultless condition, clean, and with very good margins, measuring $7\frac{1}{8}$ by $5\frac{3}{16}$ inches,' the usual size. On examining this I found a very careful tear beginning about an inch and a half up the page, carrying away the date 1600 and the preceding comma and ending rather less than an inch and a half along the lower margin. Both hands must have been used to make such a tear, and it could not have been done accidentally.

It had already been suggested both by Dr. Greg and myself that the theory that Jaggard had been wronging the heirs of Thomas Hayes by reprinting a book which belonged to them threw a new light on the otherwise inexplicable entry in the Stationers' Register under date 8th July, 1619.

> Laurence Hayes, Entred for his copies by Consent of a full Court these two Copies following which were the Copies of Thomas Haies his fathers, viz.
>
> A play called 'The Marchant of Venice'
> And the Ethiopian History.

As regards the Ethopian History, over which Laurence Hayes was in controversy with William Barrett, I have nothing new to suggest. But in the case of the 'Merchant of Venice,' Mr. Dring's point may well make us wonder whether before this entry was placed on the Register there had

not been a painful scene, in which William Jaggard, who, two days later, was to take up the responsible post of a warden of the Company, was obliged to confess his misdoing and to hush up the matter by promising to tear off the untrue dates from any copies which remained in stock.

If any owners of copies of the plays in question who, on holding them to the light, discover signs that the corner containing the date is on different paper from the rest of the title-page will communicate with me I shall be much obliged. It is certainly to their advantage, it may be remarked, to help to prove that what has hitherto seemed a mere regrettable mutilation, really possesses no little historic interest.

A. W. Pollard.

REVIEWS.

The Romance of Bookselling: a history from the earliest times to the twentieth century. By Frank A. Mumby. With a bibliography by W. H. Peet. Chapman & Hall. pp. xviii., 491.

MR. MUMBY'S book is not quite so ambitious as his title suggests, as (save in his first few pages) it is only English bookselling that he takes for his province. His account of the infancy of the English trade in printed books in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries might here and there have been improved by a more diligent study of our own pages; but thanks, no doubt, to the bibliography by Mr. Peet, which he prints as an appendix, he has read more widely than any of his predecessors, and his book, if it be no more than a compilation, is skilfully put together, and steadily improves as it comes down to later times. The author is at his very best in his last chapter, entitled, 'Publishers of To-day,' which fills some eighty pages, and gives in these an excellent historical account of the University Presses at Oxford and Cambridge, and most interesting notes on the chief publishing firms of London and Edinburgh. The book is illustrated

with numerous portraits of publishers, and facsimiles of stamps and devices, and well indexed. It deserves a place in every public library in England.

Book-Prices Current. Vol. XXIV. pp. x., 825. Elliot Stock. £1 5s. 6d.

Mr. Slater, in his introduction to the new volume, not only notes that 'the average sum realised per "lot" of books sold during the season 1909-10 amounts to £2 9s. 1d., as against £3 11s. 10d. for the season 1908-9,' but makes the sweeping statement that 'the commercial value of books of almost all classes has very materially declined during the past few years, and that just lately this decline has become more than ever accentuated.' The evidence for this statement is hardly conclusive, and 'the number of extremely important books' which Mr. Slater cites as having been bought in at the Gott sale, and subsequently sold again, last March, at much smaller prices, does not seem to us as striking as Mr. Slater considers it. It is never wise to buy in books at a great sale like Dr. Gott's. A great sale generates enthusiasm, and if a book does not fetch a high price then, it is very unlikely to do so when offered again at a miscellaneous one. It is the absence of anything approaching a great sale in 1910 that brought down the average price some 33 per cent.; but as soon as first-class books are brought into the market, we shall be very surprised if high water is not again touched. Mean-

while it is pleasant to have to note that 'Book-Prices Current' continues to improve, more especially in its index, much of which is now admirably arranged. It is a special pleasure to us to see that under 'Bindings' there are now references not merely to books about binding, but to those which owe the prices they have fetched to the beauty or interest of their covers. When the same system is extended to books sought after for their typography or illustrations, a long-standing grievance, to which we have repeatedly drawn attention, will at last be removed.

The paper of lending library books, with some remarks on their bindings, illustrated by diagrams and photo-micographs. By Cedric Chivers. Truslove and Hanson. pp. 34.

By means of numerous diagrams Mr. Chivers makes out a very good case for his contention that it is of immense importance to the life of a book that it should be printed with the grain of the paper across the page, instead of up and down it. It is unsatisfactory to know that of 3,717 English books examined by Mr. Chivers, 34 per cent. have the grain the wrong way, thus making the book weak in its sewings. In America, however, matters are still worse, of 981 books tested no less than 86 per cent. having their grain the weaker way. Mr. Chivers also shows that as compared with books printed before 1890 those of the present day have an average tensile strength of 6 lb. instead of

10, and lose 50 per cent. instead of 20 per cent. of it in folding and sewing. The varieties in thickness are also much greater than twenty years ago, and these also cause trouble. The moral which Mr. Chivers draws is that while these evils are rampant it is impossible for a bookbinder to give good results if his method of binding is prescribed for him. If this is so, the specifications in which we were learning to trust are a good deal discounted.

Bibliografía grafica: reproduccion en facsímil de portadas, retratos, colofones y otras curiosidades útiles á los bibliófilos, que se hallan en obras únicas y libros preciosos ó raros. Reunida y publicada por Pedro Vindel. Madrid, 1910. 2 *tom.*

This is a collection of no fewer than 1,224 facsimiles of title-pages, illustrations, colophons, devices, portraits of authors, and bookplates of notable collectors taken from rare books printed in Spain or the Spanish dominions, with a few from Spanish books printed in other countries. Such a book cannot help being useful, but in the present instance perfunctory editing and supervision have reduced the usefulness to a minimum. In the numerous cases where title-pages, etc., have been reduced, no notes are given of the sizes of the originals, the 'facsimiles' are often bad, and (worst fault of all) they are thrown together in haphazard order, with careless underlines and imperfectly indexed. The haphazardness of the arrangement seems to have extended also to the selection of

examples, if the word 'selection' can fairly be used, as we can find no principle governing them. It is irritating to think how much more useful the book might have been made had a little pains and scholarship been bestowed on its production.

Francis Bacon: a sketch of his life, works, and literary friends, chiefly from a bibliographical point of view. By G. Walter Steeves, M.D. With forty-three illustrations. Methuen & Co. pp. xv., 230.

Dr. Steeves' bibliographical sketch of Bacon's life and works is pleasantly and unpretentiously written, quotes judiciously from prefaces, and is illustrated with a good series of facsimiles of the title-pages of first editions.

A. W. P.

Third Series,
No. 6, Vol. II. April, 1911.

THE LIBRARY.

HANS LUFT OF MARBURG.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF WILLIAM TYNDALE.

SOME of the most important books in the literature of the English Reformation are said to be 'printed by me Hans Luft at Marburg in the land of Hesse.' A few of them are obviously London reprints, but others show clear traces of common origin, and that not English, but continental. The imprint first appears in 1528, when the newly founded University of Marburg was rising into prominence, and books with it continue to appear at intervals till 1546. British refugees are known to have resided at Marburg, and no doubt was entertained as to the genuineness of the imprint until it was found that Hans Luft printed at Wittemberg throughout the whole of his career, that no trace of his being connected with Marburg existed, and that the type used in these books had never been used either in Marburg or Wittemberg. From that time the true home of this press has been a subject of enquiry.

The earliest foreign-printed Reformation books in English are printed in (*a*) italic, as 'The Supplication of Beggars,' (*b*) Roman, as 'The Summe of Scripture,' 'The Exposition on Matthew,' etc., or (*c*) Schwabacher type, in which most of the 'Marburg' books were printed. It is to this class that most of our attention must be given. The books in it are connected, not only by type, but by watermark, woodcut initials, and typographical peculiarities.

The size of the type is 77.5 mm. to twenty lines. A Schwabacher type of this body first appears in the index to the 'Margarita philosophica,' printed by Schott during his residence in Freiburg, 16th March, 1504-5 (Proctor 11718); this variety is not used again in any recorded book. It is next found in Cologne, in 'Dat niwe testament . . . duir Hieronem Fuchs: Coellen: 1525,' a Dutch New Testament, printed in three parts. A third variety appears in the famous Cologne New Testament of Tyndale, the printing of which was interrupted by Hermann Rinck and Dobneck, in September, 1525.[1] This book is usually attributed to Quentell's press, on the ground that a woodcut, some initials, and (it is said) the type itself are found in books printed by him after this date. Such evidence as we have points, I believe, in the other way. I have not been able to see any book in the Testament variety with Quentell's imprint, before or after 1525. His patrons were for the most part anti-Lutheran. When the search for

[1] See 'Records of the English Bible,' by A. W. Pollard, p. 104.

Tyndale's book was made, suspicion was aroused by the great amount of paper found on the printer's premises; but this could not apply to Quentell, who printed large numbers of books. The subsequent use by him of the woodcut blocks proves nothing, except when a previous use is also shown. The only other use I know of this variety is in the letter of the Hanse Merchants of London to the magistrates of Cologne, 3rd March, 1526, describing the search in the Steelyard for heretical books. This letter must have been printed at the earliest at the end of April, as an express took at the period forty-seven days to pass from London to Cologne.

A fourth variety of Schwabacher type (closely resembling the second) is found in Strassburg in 1527. Tyndale's assistant, Roye, parted from him in Worms about May, 1526, after the first octavo New Testament without notes had been printed. Roye went to Strassburg, and while there translated the 'Dialogue of the Father and the Son,' of which the preface is dated August, 1527; while another refugee, Barlow, versified the bitter attack on Wolsey, known as 'Rede me and be not wroth,' or 'The Burial of the Mass.' Allowing for the usual interval (a preface signed 3rd May of a book of this period has a colophon dated 3rd September), we may assume that these books were printed by December, 1527. The history of their purchase by Wolsey's agent at Frankfort in September, 1528, is well known.[1] From this time forward Schott the printer uses the type frequently, as, for example,

[1] See 'Records,' pp. 120-1.

in the 'Biblisch Bettbuchlein' of Brunfels, 1528, the 'Pandect Buchlein' of 1529, etc. The fifth

Be not offended moſt dere Reader ẏ diuers thinges are overſe ne thorow negligence in thys lytle treatiſe. For verely the chaūce was ſoch/that I marvayle that it is ſo weell as it is Moareover it becometh the boke evē ſo to co me as a morner and in vile appareell to wayte on his maſter which ſheweth hym ſelfe now agayne not in honoure and glory/ as betwene Moſes and Helias: but in rebuke and ſhame as betwene two mortherars / to trye his true frendes ād to prove whether there be any faith on the erth.

¶In the. x. leaſe. ij. ſyde. v. line/ for fewe ād fa derth reade fewe and ſealden.

¶In the. xxxix. leaſe/ fyrſt ſyde/ xv. line/ for Roma. ij. reade Roma. ix.

¶The principall notes of the boke.

With gods word oughte a man to rebuke wee kednes and falſe doctrine ād not with raylinge rimes. iij. leaſe in the prologe.

Antichriſte is as moch to ſaye / as agenſt Chri ſte and is no thinge but a preacher of falſe do ctrine/ the. iij. in the prologe.

Antichriſte was ever. iij. in the prologe.

Antichriſte whan he ie ſpied goeth out of the playe and diſgyſeth him ſelfe and then cometh in agayne, iiij. in the prologe.

variety of this type is that used in the 'Marburg' press from 1528 to 1535.

This connection between a certain kind of type and a certain variety of literature is one that can

hardly fail to arouse speculation. The varieties of it are marked off by quite insignificant differences. The 'upper-case' letters are the same in all. The 'lower-case' letters are the same in the main, with three or four differences only in each fount. The facsimile of a page in the 'Marburg' type (fig. 1), from 'The Parable of the Wicked Mammon,' will serve to exemplify this. The principal differences in the N. T. variety are (1) a double letter oo, which is like an eight on one side, a contracted es, and the foreign combinations tz, etc. The marks of the Roye variety are two h's (one with a loop), two k's, two p's, no loop to ll, a different contraction for es, and the oo of the N. T. type. In the 'Marburg' type there are two forms of a, l, r, no compound letter ch, and a looped ll.

It seems evident then that we must seek for a common source for these closely allied types, and if there is one, that this source should be at Cologne. Until our friends in Germany and the Low Countries bring their bibliographies into line with ours, we are to some extent working in the dark, and definite statements are liable to be contradicted by new evidence; but with this reserve in mind, we have to explain the following facts. Fuchs is using a well-marked type for Testament-printing at Cologne. Tyndale comes to Cologne a stranger, and at once starts printing a Testament in a similar type—not used before—and abandoned, it is said, to the printer. Roye, Tyndale's partner, prints Reformation tracts in a similar type at Strassburg—owes his printer money—abandons the type and books to him, and henceforward this fount remains

at Strassburg. Tyndale prints tracts in English in a similar type for the next few years. When Tyndale arrived in Cologne in 1525 he was obviously well supplied with money, since he was able to buy the paper for 3,000 copies of the Testament at Cologne, and, when these were seized, to pay for 3,000 more at Worms: so that the question of cost does not arise. We know that in 1529 Tyndale owned a fount of type, from Packington's remark to Tunstall as to purchasing 'the letters and stamps.'[1] Several theories can be proposed to link these facts together. The one I think likeliest is this.

We are bound to assume either (1) a type-founder who kept special type for Tyndale and his friends, or (2) the purchase by Tyndale of (i.) punches, (ii.) matrices, or (iii.) type from a type-designer. Though we know up to the present of no other books of the period in this type, we cannot accept the first alternative on account of the very limited market. We assume then that Tyndale, coming to Cologne from Hamburg in 1525, was directed by Fuchs to a type-founder and paper-seller, and probably bought matrices from which a quantity of type was cast. These matrices come into the hands of Roye, and are handed over to Schott, whose continued use of the type shows that he must have had means of obtaining fresh supplies of it. Tyndale, when he begins printing again, in 1528, has type only, as the progressive degradation of the face shows.

The first books in the 'Marburg' type were

[1] 'Records,' p. 152.

published in 1528, on the 8th May and 2nd October respectively. We have no evidence as to the place of printing of 'The Wicked Mammon,' and I reprint two initials, a G and a T, in the hope that some previous use of them may be identified. There is some reason to think that this book was written and printed at Antwerp, where a strong feeling existed against the English authorities. This is supported by the fact that Tyndale alludes in his preface to the altered tactics of the English agent, who was accusing the reformers, not of

heresy, but of treason. 'Because that his Excommunycacions are come to light he maketh it trayson unto the Kinge/to be acointed with Christ.' This change of tactics was recommended by Hackett to Wolsey 14th July, 1528 (B.M. Galba. B. ix. f. 146^{b}). The second book, 'The Obedience of a Christian Man,' has very much more to connect it with Antwerp. In the first place, the engraved title-page is one of two used by Michael Hillenius of Antwerp in 1528 and 1529, copied from one used in 1523 at Cologne by Cervicornus. It has two initials, A and G, imitated from the lexicon of Antonius Nebrissensis 1527, an E used in Erasmus's

'Enchiridion' by Hillenius 1528. Another is taken from a set of Martin Keyser used in 1528. All these reasons are cumulative in assigning the book to an Antwerp press. The two books are connected by the paper used, the first two sheets of the 'Obedience' being on 'Mammon' paper, the other nineteen on a different sort.

The books issued in 1529, 20th June and 12th July respectively, are not by Tyndale, though the first of them, 'Erasmus's Exhortation,' or 'The Exposition of 1 Corinthians VII.,' was known on its publication as 'The Matrimony of Tyndale.' The note as to translation on f. C.ij. is sufficient to prove this. Roye was probably the author, as he had by this time returned from a visit to England. 'The Revelation of Antichrist' is by Frith. Tyndale was engaged on his version of the Pentateuch, and it was in this year that his shipwreck on the way to Hamburg,[1] and his stay in that city, together with Coverdale, occurred. To this period may also be assigned Coverdale's translation of 'The Old God and the New.' Tyndale was again in Hamburg in January, 1530.

These books were printed at the same press as the 'Obedience.' They have the same woodcut title-page, the same initials, and are on the same batch of paper, with the exception of the Index to the 'Exhortation.'

The printing of the Pentateuch seems to have been somewhat troubled. Only two of the five books, Genesis and Numbers, are in the 'Marburg' type, the other three being in Roman, supplemented

[1] 'Records,' p. 10.

as usual by a w and y from a Gothic fount. They all have the same woodcut title-page, one used by Michael Hillenius of Antwerp, and copied by him from a compartment used by Schoeffer at Mainz in 1521. But Genesis (the only dated book) is marked off from the others in several ways. Firstly, there are two editions of it, the first presumably being too small. Secondly, the line is of a different length from that of the other four. Thirdly, it is printed on different paper from that on which the four others are printed. Fourthly, the four books are sometimes found as a complete work, without the Genesis. On the other hand, one capital from the 'Obedience' is found in Genesis and Numbers, and another in Genesis only. There does not seem any ground for assuming that these works were printed at Hamburg, nor do I consider it likely, since we know of no press there, though the type and paper were portable enough.

The disturbance, whatever it was, is reflected in the printing of the 'Practyse of Prelates,' dated the same year, 1530, which has the same compartment and one of the initials. This book is very irregularly printed, and introduces italic side-notes. This is the last of Tyndale's books in the 'Marburg' type.

Two other books, one dated 1530, the 'A B C to the Spiritualte' and other tracts, the other 'The examination of Master William Thorpe,' a Lollard martyr, undated, are of this period. They are printed on the same paper, and have the well-known initials. They are probably due to Roye or to Joye; either of them had historical sympathies,

and wished to link the movement with the past. It is curious to read in Tyndale and his friends of Richard II. as a victim to the prelacy for his Lollard sympathies. A part of the 'A B C'—'a compendious olde treatyse'—was subsequently reprinted in the same type, with the date 1530.

The last Reformation book printed at this press bears a different imprint: 'At Parishe, by me Peter Congeth, A.M.D.xxxv. xx. Januarij.' It is written by a Scottish reformer, John Johnstone, of whom nothing is known, and is called 'An confortable exhortation . . . unto the Christen bretherne in Scotlande . . .' The author was an eye-witness of the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton. The paper on which it is printed includes some of the same batch as the reprint of the 'compendious olde treatyse.'

We have in the meantime a use of the type in a prognostication for the year 1534, printed at Antwerp for sale in England. It is not in sympathy with the Reformation. The type by this time had escaped Tyndale's control altogether, and Roye had been burned in Portugal in 1531. After a time it seems to have fallen into the hands of a Wesel printer, who used it for ordinary trade purposes. At any rate, we find it in a popular fortune-telling book, 'Warsager Kunst,' found by Mr. A. G. Murray in a binding together with other fragments of books, all printed by Dirik van der Straten at Wesel before 1548.

Tyndale himself seems to have decided to get his printing done by an ordinary trade printer almost simultaneously with the issue of the 'Practyse of

Prelates.' We have definite proof of his presence in Antwerp in 1531, at the period of the issue of a number of books printed in the type and with the initials of Martin Keyser. These are Tyndale's 'Prophete Jonas,' 'The praier . . . of the Ploweman,' Ashwell's letters to Joye (all on the same batch of paper), Tyndale's 'Answer to Sir Thos. More,' and Frith's 'Disputacion of Purgatorye' (both before Easter, 1531), Tyndale's 'Exposition on the Epistle of St. John,' Frith's 'Another boke against Rastel,' Barnes's 'Supplication,' and the 'Paternoster in English.'

Leaving these aside, however, we follow the fortunes of our 'Marburg' type, and we meet with it again in a new body, showing that the punches have fallen into a printer's hands. Twenty lines of this new type measure 82 mm. It seems to be connected with the famous John Bale, and used by him together with a larger German fount of the same character. The well-known comedies with the fanciful imprint of Nicolaus Bambergensis fall into this series. They are connected with the first edition of Bale's 'De Scriptoribus' by the fact that all their initials are found in this book, and Theodoricus Plateanus, its printer, has just been shown to have also worked as Dirik van der Straten. Bale returned to England in 1548-9 (the date is uncertain), and in 1550 we find the type on the original body used for Coverdale's Bible in Zurich. Curiously enough we meet with it again in another secret press, in an edition of one of Cartwright's tracts in 1575.

The provenance of the early Reformation books

in italic and roman type is not easily arrived at. Perhaps if we had some of the smaller books of Christopher Endhoven, who printed the first reprints of Tyndale's New Testament at Antwerp in 1526, some light might be thrown on the matter. I hope to return to the subject, and to show the connection of Tyndale's three books, the exposition on Matthew, on Romans, and on St. John, with these.

We are still in the dark as to the way in which early sixteenth century books got printed. It seems probable that in many cases the person who wanted the book published provided the type and paper, if not the press, and went to a professional printer, just as, a generation ago, a countryman in the more remote districts bought the cloth and linings, etc., and called in an itinerant tailor to make his suit of clothes. One must not neglect the fact that type-founders were comparatively common; but on the other hand, the number of founts of type identical in every respect with the exception of one or two 'sorts' has led the few persons qualified to speak with authority on the subject to the opinion that when type or matrices were bought, the seller introduced these variations with the special purpose of making a distinction for each purchaser. The evidence given by these 'Marburg' books goes to show that in this case, at any rate, the paper, type, and capital letters were provided by Tyndale's financial backers, who held them at the disposal of others of like mind. Every reason exists for locating these at Antwerp in the English colony there, up to about 1540, when the revolt of Ghent

brought Charles V. in person to the Netherlands, and probably led to the settlement at Wesel in the Lutheran Duchy of Cleves.

We will now summarise the evidence connecting these books as to type, woodcut initials, and paper:

The 'Mammon' uses, besides the 'Marburg' type, a fount of Black letter, measuring 93 mm. This is also found in the 'Corinthians' and the 'Antichrist.'

The title-page fount is found in every one of the series except the 'Mammon.'

Woodcut Borders.—The 'Obedience,' 'Corinthians,' and 'Antichrist' are identical. The 'Practyse of Prelates,' 'Genesis,' 'Exodus,' 'Leviticus' (2), 'Numbers' (2), and 'Deuteronomy' use another.

Woodcut Initials.—The 'Mammon' and 'Antichrist' use the same G.

The 'Obedience' uses the same A as 'Antichrist,' 'Genesis,' and 'Numbers'; the same W as 'Antichrist,' 'Genesis,' Practyse of Prelates,' 'A B C'; the same I as 'Genesis'; the same G as 'Thorpe,' '2nd Compendious Treatise'; the same H as 'Exhortation'; the same L as 'Corinthians.'

The 'Corinthians' uses the same T as 'Genesis,' 'Thorpe,' 'Exhortation.'

The 'A B C' uses the same F as the '2nd Compendious Treatise.'

PAPER.—The 'Mammon' watermark cannot be seen in the copy consulted.

The 'Obedience,' 'Corinthians,' 'Antichrist,' and 'Numbers' are on the same paper, a diadem with cross and star.

The 'Genesis' is on a different paper.

The 'Exodus,' 'Leviticus,' and 'Deuteronomy' (the Roman part of the Pentateuch) are on a different diadem paper, nearly 4957 Briquet.

The 'Thorpe' and 'A B C' are on the same paper, 4968 Briquet nearly.

The '2nd Compendious Treatise' is on the same paper as part of the 'Exhortation,' nearly 10906 Briquet.

We are thus enabled to date the 'Examination of Thorpe' for the first time with some approach to accuracy. The evidence up to the present goes to show that all these books were printed at the same press, with type that derived from Cologne, but with capitals and compartments derived from Antwerp. It was at Antwerp and Bergen-op-Zoom that the great markets for books sent to England were held at the time, and it was at Antwerp that Tyndale was likely to find the continued pecuniary support of which he was in need. I hope the facsimile in this article may lead to the discovery of earlier uses of these letters, either in Antwerp or Cologne.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. A i. [Begins] 'That fayth the mother of all good . . . walke in them.' A ij. "William Tyndale otherwise called hychins to the reader' . . . A v. verso, '¶ The parable of the wicked mammon.'

A-I_8. I_8 blank (?) missing. folios v not numbered + lxiij + iv not numbered.

The B.M. copy has each leaf mounted on guards.

2. 'The obedience of a Christen man and how Christen rulers ought to governe/where in also (yf thou ma=rke diligently) th=ou shalt fynde eyes to pe=rceave the crafty conveyaunce of all iugglers.'

A-X_8. folios clx + viij not numbered.

3. "An Exhortation to the diligent studye of scripture/made by Erasmus Roterodamus. And translated into inglish. ¶ An exposition into the seventh chaptre of the first pistle to the Corinthians.' *Colophon.* 'At Malborow in the londe of Hesse. M. D. xxix. xx daye Junij. By my Hans Luft.'

A-K_8 compartment. 9 sheets of paper of No. 2 with the index sheet of another paper.

Quoted on its publication as 'The Matrimony of Tyndall.' This work is not by Tyndale. See the note as to translation on C ij.

4. '¶ A pistle to the Christen reader. ¶ The Revelation of Antichrist. ¶ Antithesis/wherein are compared togeder Christes actes and oure holye father the Popes.' '[At Marl]borow in the land of Hes[se the] .xij day of Julye/An no M. CCCCC. xxix. [by me] Hans luft.'

A-N_8 compartment. 13 sheets of paper of No. 2.

4A. A work of which no copy seems to be preserved in England. It is no. 27 in Dr. Dommer's 'Die aeltesten

Drucke aus Marburg': the Marburg Articles in Netherlandish speech. 4 sheets. (After October, 1529.) A copy is noted in Cassel. Hass. h. eccl. 12°. 1.

5. (Compartment fig. 23) '¶ A prologe into the fourth boke of Moses/called Numeri.' (B. 1, compartment fig. 23) 'The fourthe boke of Moses called Numeri.'

Sheets A-I_8, K_4. No colophon.

6. 'The fyrst boke of Moses called Genesis ·.·' (compartment fig. 23). *Colophon.* 'Emprented at Malborow in the lande of Hesse/by me Hans Luft/the yere of oure Lorde. M. CCCCC. xxx. the .xvij. dayes of Januarij.'

Sheets A-L_8.

Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy are in Roman type. They have the same compartment and an initial, which also occurs in Sayle 6095 the B.L., 'Summe of Holy Scripture' (1529).

7. 'The examination of Master William Thorpe preste accused of heresye before Thomas Arundel/Archebishop of Canturbury/the yere of ower Lorde. M. CCCC. and seven. ¶ The examinacion of the honorable knight syr Jhonn Oldcastell Lorde Cobham/burnt bi the said Archbisshop/in the fyrste yere of Kynge Henry the fyfth. ¶ Be no more ashamed to heare it/than ye were and be/to do it.'

Sheets A-H_8, I_4. Watermark (Briquet, 4968), a German paper.

8. 'A proper dyalogе/betwene a Gentillman and a husbandman/eche complaynge to other their miserable calamite/through the ambicion of the clergye. ¶ An A.B.C. to the spiritualte. *with* A compendious olde treatyse/shewynge/howe that we ought to haue the scripture in Englysshe.' *Colophon.* '¶ Emprented at Marborow in the lande of Hessen/by me Hans Luft/in the yere of oure lorde. M. CCCCC. and .XXX.

Sheets A-D_8. Paper and watermark of No. 7.

The next seems to have been from a different workman. It has side-notes in italic:

9. 'The practyse of Prelates. Whether the Kinges grace maye be separated from his quene/because she was his brothers wyfe. marborch In the yere of oure Lorde. M. CCCCC. &. XXX.'

A-I_8, K_{10}. The paper is different from the others. Watermarks resemble Briquet 10723 and 6409.

10. No. 10 is a reprint of no. 8. 'A compendious olde treatyse/shewynge/howe that we ought to haue y^e scripture in Englysshe/' *Coolphon.* 'Emprented at Marlborow in the lande of Hessen/be my Hans Luft/in the yere of owre lord M. CCCCC. and. XXX.

A_8.

I am inclined to place it later, but in the absence of definite proof it must come here. The watermark of the paper cannot be identified: it has an open crown with (probably) a hand (?) of northern French origin.

The type now passes into other hands.

11. A fragment of a prognostication for the year 1534. It is printed in Antwerp.

12. 'An confortable exhortation: of oure mooste holy Christen faith/and her frutes Written (vnto the Christen bretherne in Scotlande) after the poore worde of God. * At Parishe M.d.xxxv.' *Colophon.* '¶ At Parishe/by me Peter congeth A. M.D.xxxv. xx. Januarij.'

Sheets A-F_8 (wanting B_4-C_2).

In the same type, *circ.* 1546:

'Warsager kunst Vth den vij. Planeten vnd XII. teken des Himmels/dardorch men die Complesie/natur vnde egenschop eines ydern minschen erfaren mach/ock syne gebort/stunde vnde teken/dardorch em all syngelucke vnde vngefal/so em yn der tidt synes leeuendes

beyegen wert / geõpent mach werden / vnde sõlckes alle lichtlick dorch des Minschen Namen vth tho reken.' (Woodcut.)

? Sheets A-C_8.

BALE PRESS.

1. 'The true hystorie of the Christen departynge of the reuerende man, D. Martyne Luther, collected by Justus Jonas, Michael Celius, and Joannes Aurifaber whych were present therat, & translated into Englysh by Johan Bale. Arma Ducis Saxonie (*woodcut*) . . .' [1546]

Sheets A-D_8. Initials I and O of 'Scriptores.'

2. 'The first examinacyon of Anne Askewe, lately martyred in Smythfelde, by the Romysh popes vpholders, with the Elucydacyon of Johan Bale (*woodcut*) . . . *Colophon.* Thus endeth the first examynacyon of Anne Askewe, . . . Imprented at Marpurg in the lande of Hessen, in Nouembre, Anno 1546.' (Printer's mark.)

·.·$_8$, *$_4$, A-F_8 (F_8 missing). Initials A, O, H, and F of 'Scriptores.' Crown paper. (Block of Von Kempen of Cologne.)

3. 'The lattre examinacyon of Anne Askewe, lately martyred in Smythfelde, by the wycked Synagoge ot Antichrist, with the Elucydacyon of Johan Bale. (*woodcut.*) . . . *Colophon.* God saue the kynge. Thus endeth the lattre conflict of Anne Askewe . . . Imprented at Marpurg in the lande of Hessen, 16 die Januarij, Anno 1.5.4.7.'

A-I_8 (I_8 missing). Initials I and C of 'Scriptores.' Paper of 2.

4. 'A Comedy concernynge thre lawes, of nature Moses, & Christ, corrupted by the Sodomytes, Pharycees and Papystes. Compyled by Johan Bale. Anno M. D. XXXVIII.' (In a compartment showing the creation of Eve, the Fall, the Expulsion, and Labour after the Fall.)

A-F_8, G_4. Written after 1547, June. Initials I, I, V, Q, and B of 'Scriptores.' Watermark A as 2; B-F as 1.

5. 'A Tragedye or enterlude manyfestyng the chefe promyses of God vnto man by all ages in the olde lawe, from the fall of Adam to the incarnacyon of the lorde Jesus Christ. Compyled by Johan Bale. Anno Domini M. D. XXXVIII.' (Woodcut, St. John) . . .

A-E_4. Initial I of 'Scriptores.' Watermark as 1. (Block of Evangelist from some unidentified New Testament.)

6. 'A brefe Comedy or Enterlude concernynge the temptacyon of our lord and sauer Jesus Christ, by Sathan in the desart. Compyled by Johan Bale, Anno M. D. XXXVIII. (Woodcut, St. Matthew). . . .'

C_4 only, D_4, E_4. Initials A and I of 'Scriptores.'

7. 'A Godly Medytacyon of the christen sowle concerninge a loue towardes God and hys Christe, compyled in frenche by lady Margarete quene of Nauer, and aptly translated into Englyssh by the ryght vertuouse lady Elyzabeth doughter to our late souerayne Kynge Henri the viij.' (*woodcut.*) . . . *Colophon.* 'Imprented in the yeare of our lord 1548, in Apryll.'

A-F_8. Initials D, I, W, C, and F of 'Scriptores.' Paper of 2.

7A. 'De Scriptoribus,' Aug. 1548—not in the type. Watermark as 2.

8. 'A treatyse made by Johan Lambert vnto kynge Henry the .viij. concernynge hys opynyon in the sacrament of the aultre as they call it, or supper of the lorde as the scripture nameth it. Anno do. 1538 (*woodcut* fides). . . .'

Sheets A-D_8. Initials A and A of 'Scriptores.' Watermark as 2. 8 varieties of type used. Probably later than the 'Scriptores,' as not mentioned in it. Cut of 'Salvator mundi' on f. 5 is in 'Scriptores,' f. 11.

R. STEELE.

JOHN LELAND AND KING HENRY VIII.

IN a striking paper, read before the Library Association many years ago, on 'Librarianship in the Seventeenth Century,' the late Dr. Garnett admitted that the craft was then still in its infancy, and that in John Dury it had a representative far in advance of his time.[1] The age of librarianship was dark then; but the epoch to which I propose to go back, of which the following remarks are a brief survey, is a darker one still.

The work of John Leland as a general antiquary is outside our province; any necessary allusion that I may make to it will be of an incidental nature.

The recently issued edition of his 'Itinerary' has doubtless re-awakened the interest of topographers who are also antiquarians, and the volumes, which are published in a handy form, will supply much useful material to coming historians of the period and writers of romance.[2] For although literary style is not the strong point of the 'Itinerary,' English prose writing being then more or less in

[1] Garnett, R., 'Essays in Librarianship and Bibliography' ('Librarianship in the Seventeenth Century'), 1899, pp. 175-90.

[2] Leland, John, 'Itinerary.' Edited by L. Toulmin-Smith. 3 vols., 1906-8.

its infancy, Leland's descriptions of all that he saw in town and country are faithful and minute.

The principal facts relating to his comparatively short life (1506?-52) are to be found in most biographical dictionaries and introductions to his works. They are most succinctly recorded by Mr. Sidney Lee in the 'Dictionary of National Biography,'[1] by Dr. Copinger,[2] by Miss Toulmin-Smith in her introduction to the new edition of the 'Itinerary,' and also by Leland's admirer and fellow-worker—though of a later age—Thomas Hearne.[3]

Although they formed but a comparatively small portion out of the total of his labours, Leland's visits to monastic libraries, and his records of manuscripts and printed books then in existence, are not the least of his work. It is the object of this paper to estimate very briefly the extent of their value, to reconcile, if possible, one or two opposite statements that have been made in this connection, and to endeavour to arrive at some solution of the much-vexed question—the sincerity of King Henry VIII.'s attitude towards the New Learning, and his conception of the only means by

[1] 'Leland, John, Life of,' Dict. Nat. Biogr., 1893, xxxiii., p. 113.

[2] Leland, John, 'New Yeares Gifte.' Reprinted, 'Bibliographiana,' No. 1, edited by W. A. Copinger. Privately printed at the Priory Press, Manchester. 1895.

[3] Leland, John. 'The Itinerary of John Leland, the Antiquary.' Published by Thomas Hearne, M.A. 3rd edit., 9 vols. in 5, 8vo. Oxon., 1769-70.

Leland, John. 'De rebus Britannicis collectanea, cum Thomae Hearne praefatione. Edit. altera,' 6 vols., 1774.

which it could be locally advanced, namely, the preservation of manuscripts and printed books.

Leland seems to have been drawn into Court life early in his career, as he was appointed royal chaplain and became library keeper before 1530. The latter, and secular, office, although a definite one, was no more engrossing, probably a good deal less so, than it was in John Dury's day, more than a hundred years later; but it may be concluded that it was in the discharge of his keeper's duties, such as they were, that Leland's enthusiastic love of books and manuscripts, both for their own sake and as objects of antiquity, was fostered and magnified.

In 1530 he was presented to the living of Pepeling or Poppeling, in the marches of Calais—then English territory. In company with Nicholas Uvedale (or Udall), the author of 'Ralph Roister Doister,' he wrote verses, which were recited at the coronation of Anne Boleyn. In the same year he was appointed to an office which had 'neither predecessor nor successor,' namely that of 'King's antiquary.'[1] It is evident that Leland's sojourn at Pepeling was but fugitive, as he was returned as an absentee from his living in 1532. He received later on a special licence to keep a curate there during the time that he was on his travels. As to the exact date when these commenced authorities do not seem to be agreed; but it is definitely known that 1533 (the twenty-fifth of the king's reign) was the year of his receipt of the famous commission from his sovereign, by virtue of

[1] Morley, H., 'First Sketch of English Literature,' 1892, p. 756, and Dict. Nat. Biogr., 1893, xxxiii., p. 14.

which he was appointed to 'search after England's antiquities, and peruse the libraries of all cathedrals, abbies, priories, colleges, etc., and also all places wherein records, writings, and secrets of antiquity were reposited.'[1] It is also known that the years 1536-42 were entirely occupied by Leland on his various journeys; but some assign to these the slightly wider margin of from 1534 to 1543, while Leland himself, in the 'New Yeares Gifte' (1546), speaks of his travels as having been made 'by the space of these six years past' (1539-45).

Leland was one of the few who were fortunate enough to keep on good terms with their royal employer, which in those days meant a good deal in the way of security both of life and property. But there is nothing surprising in this, as he appears to have been a man of pliant will, save in the pertinacity he showed in the pursuit of his researches. He was evidently what would now be termed a 'safe' man as regards subscription to the Act of Supremacy; and his theological leanings, though distinctly on the side of the Reformers, were not sufficiently aggressive to arouse the royal disfavour. It is stated by Isaac Disraeli, in his 'Calamities and Quarrels of Authors,' that he had delighted the ear of the king with his 'Cygnea Cantio' (Song of the Swan)—'a beautiful effusion of fancy and antiquarianism.' The same author mentions that Leland was always alive to the kindness of his royal patron, and that among his numerous literary projects was one of writing a history of all

[1] Warton and Huddesford, 'Lives of John Leland, Thomas Hearne and Anthony à Wood,' 1772, i., pp. 9, 10.

the palaces of Henry, in imitation of Procopius, who described those of the Emperor Justinian.[1]

It is at this point that some divergence in the views of writers comes in. Did Henry VIII., contemplating his intention to dismantle and appropriate the revenues and personal effects of the monasteries and suppress them, send Leland forth on his travels with a view to ascertaining the literary contents of those institutions, and of effecting their ultimate preservation? Mr. J. P. Gilson, in his monograph on 'The Library of Henry Savile, of Banke,' published in the Bibliographical Society's Transactions, inclines to this view. He says that Henry was one of our few literary monarchs, which is undoubtedly true, and this statement is supported by authorities whose estimate of the king's character is widely divergent. Hume, who is unsparing in his denunciation of Henry's later actions, states that his father, 'in order to remove him from the knowledge of public business, had hitherto occupied him entirely in the pursuit of literature, and the proficiency which he made gave no bad prognostic of his parts and capacity.'[2] Froude, whose one-sided panegyric is too well known to need comment, says that 'his reading was vast, especially in theology.'[3] Mr. Gilson supports his argument as follows: 'The measures

[1] Disraeli, Isaac, 'Calamities and Quarrels of Authors,' new edit., 1881, p. 173.

[2] Hume, D., 'History of England from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to the Revolution in 1688,' reprint of edit. of 1786, ii., pp. 59, 160, 174.

[3] Froude, J. A., 'History of England,' 1872, i., p. 174.

which he (Henry) took to secure the preservation of the best part of the monastic libraries are a rather remarkable piece of forethought. The itineration undertaken at his command by John Leland was the forerunner of our Historical MSS. Commission; but it was something more. The MS. lists which Leland drew up, or at any rate those parts of them which are in the British Museum, are noted with certain signs in the margin, indicating that the king had laid hands upon the books for his own collection, and the result is apparent in an inventory of Henry VIII.'s library made in 1542, and now in the Public Record Office among the Augmentation Office Papers. The nine hundred and odd volumes in this list are not all MSS., perhaps not half of them MSS; it is difficult to say, as there is not any clear distinction in the list between MSS. and printed books; but, on the other hand, it is not a complete list of all the king's books. . . . Such as it is, however, it includes at a low estimate two or three hundred manuscript volumes of great importance, mainly from the spoils of the religious houses. These two or three hundred constitute the nucleus of the old Royal Collection now in the British Museum, and it is well to observe that there are very few libraries now in Europe possessing even two or three hundred books which have been kept together since 1542.'[1]

[1] Gilson, J. P., 'The Library of Henry Savile, of Banke.' Trans. Bibliog. Soc., 1906-8, ix., pp. 127-210. (See especially p. 129.)

I have quoted this passage almost in entirety because it has an important bearing on the views of other writers, to which I shall shortly allude. It is perfectly true that the authority Leland received from the king was a command; but it is open to question whether Henry took the initiative in the matter. Judging by Leland's enthusiasm, we may at least assume that the proposal was a ioint one, if it did not emanate from Leland himself. In considering the whole question, what we have to estimate are not merely the gains that accrued from Leland's visitation, but the immense losses, both of manuscripts and printed books, that resulted from the suppression of the monastic institutions.

When Henry first conceived the idea of suppressing the monasteries is not stated by authorities to which I have had access. They were subjected to his visitation and government alone for the first time in 1534, and it became known between then and 1536, when the first Act for the extinction of the smaller establishments was passed, that the king was about to resort to extreme measures. At this time Thomas Cromwell was at the height of his power, and took an active part in carrying out his royal master's instructions in this matter. Of these smaller institutions no fewer than 375 were suppressed, and their revenues, amounting to £32,000, were granted to the king, besides their goods, chattels and plate, computed to be worth £100,000 more. In 1538 there was a new visitation; a second Act was passed, dismantling and abolishing the larger buildings. In many instances their occupants,

thinking it to be the wiser course, made a voluntary surrender. The total income thus derived from property that found its way into the Royal Treasury amounted to upwards of £140,000, a sum worth probably six times that amount at the present day.[1] That Christ Church, Oxford, benefited thereby, and that Trinity College, Cambridge, was practically founded out of these funds is a poor set-off to Henry's rapacity, to which his love of learning was in inverse proportion. It is well known that his prodigality in the early years of his reign had reduced his exchequer, and that the grasping character that he had inherited from his father, latent in early days, but developed in middle life, impelled him to seek this means among others of re-establishing himself in the wealth and splendour of the opening years of his reign.

What made the losses of books and manuscripts all the more terrible, and the salvage, such as it was, at least something for scholars and bibliographers to be thankful for, is the fact that the conservation of books and manuscripts was largely in the hands of monastic libraries. Of course it is not suggested that they were the sole repositories: the bibliophile has always been with us; indeed, the principal actor in this tragedy, namely, the king, was himself a bibliophile, or reputed to be. But private owners were then a negligible factor in the world of letters: the days of Cotton were yet to come. In his introduction to the reprint of the 'New Yeares Gift,' the late Dr. Copinger

[1] Monachism, Article on. Encycl. Britannica, 1883, xvi., p. 712.

wrote as follows: 'The monasteries were the public libraries of the Middle Ages: they were the main repository of knowledge for those whose poverty prevented them from acquiring libraries of their own. They were regarded to some extent in the light of a public trust, and students were not only permitted to consult the books in the libraries, but, under certain safeguards, were allowed to study them in their own homes. So important was this privilege that, when some abbots had discontinued the practice in consequence of the injury which the books occasionally sustained, the Council of Paris, in 1212, ordered the immediate resumption of the ancient system, declaring that the lending of the books might justly be reckoned amongst the most eminent works of mercy.'[1]

It need not be said that if this was the case in the days before the era of printing, the use to which monastic libraries must have been put after its invention was enormously increased.[2]

The conclusions arrived at by Edwards in his 'Memoirs of Libraries'[3] differ from those of Mr. Gilson. He agrees that the losses would have been far greater had it not been for Leland's mission, and that his appointment to the office or 'King's antiquary' dated two years (or rather three) from the time of the first dissolution. But he

[1] Leland, John, 'New Yeares Gifte.' Reprinted, 'Bibliographiana,' No. 1, edited by W. A. Copinger, 1895, p. xxviii.

[2] The above statements as to monastic libraries being open to the public are confirmed in the late Mr. J. Willis Clark's Rede Lecture (1894) on 'Libraries in the Middle and Renaissance Periods.' (See pp. 46, 54.)

[3] Edwards, E., 'Memoirs of Libraries,' 1859, i., p. 363.

claims that 'there is no evidence that his mission had for its direct object the preservation of the monastic archives, or that Leland visited any considerable number of monasteries before their suppression. In that New Year's Gift which was written in 1546 he speaks of his travels as having been made "by the space of these six years past," 1539-45. The notices of libraries throughout the "Collectanea" show in almost every instance that they were written subsequently to the suppression, and even in the case of the great and not very remote monastery of Bury St. Edmund's it is evident from the recommendatory letter printed by Hearne that his visit occurred after the community had ceased to exist. There is slender ground for attributing to Henry any praiseworthy evidence for the interest of learning.'

Dr. Copinger also considers that the mainspring of the action of Henry and his advisers was the desire to secure possession of the wealth of the monasteries. If any confirmation were needed of the views put forward by Edwards and Copinger it is to be found in the wholesale destruction of books and manuscripts that really took place. The 'New Yeares Gifte,' as no doubt most readers are aware, is mainly a kind of dialogue or double address: first there is a long preface written by John Bale, the friend of Leland; then Leland speaks and addresses the king; he is followed by Bale, who supports him, extols his labours and deplores the losses to learning occasioned by the suppression of religious houses; the two worthies in turn take up the burden of their song, like the

two sides of a choir chanting alternately in a cathedral. In the preface Bale speaks very plainly, as follows: 'But thys is highly to be lamented . . . that in turnynge over the superstyciouse monasteries so lyttle respecte was had to theyr libraryes for the sauegarde of those noble and precyouse monumentes.' After condemning the unworthy lives of the monks, canons, and friars, and declaring that they roundly deserved their fate, he goes on to say that he would have wished 'that the profytable corne had not so vnaduysedly and vngodly peryshed with the vnprofytable chaffe nor the wholsome herbes with the vnwholsome wedes.' . . . He then continues as follows: 'Auaryce was the other dyspatcher whych hath made an ende both of our libraryes and bokes wythout respecte lyk as of moste honeste commodyties, to no small decaye of the common welthe.' After citing the support of writers in the Apocrypha for the preservation of books (Esdras, vi., Maccabees, ii.), he continues: 'never had we bene offended for the losse of our libraryes beynge so many in number and in so desolate places for the more parte, yf the chief monumentes and most notable workes of our excellente wryters had bene reserved. Yf there had bene in every shyre of Englande but one solemyne librarye to the preservacyon of those noble workes and preferrement of good lernynge in posteryte it had been yet sumwhat.' Some who purchased the monasteries only reserved the books 'some to scour theyr candelstyckes and some to rub theyr bootes. Some they solde to the grossers and sope sellers and some they sent over

see to the bokebynders, not in small nombre, but in shyppesfull to the wonderynge of the foren nacyons.'[1]

There is even a worse tale recorded in the 'Renascence and Reformation' volume (vol. iii.) of the 'Cambridge History of English Literature,' as follows: 'Maskell calculates the loss of liturgical books to have alone approached the total of a quarter of a million. An eye-witness describes the leaves of Duns Scotus as blown about by the wind in the courts of Oxford and their use for sporting and other purposes. Libraries that had been collected through centuries, such as those of Christ Church and St. Albans, vanished in a moment.'[2]

This shows how little, comparatively speaking, Leland had been able to effect in the way of preservation of the contents of libraries. He had evidently not been content with the powers granted to him under the king's commission, for in the year 1536 we find him entreating Cromwell to extend the powers of that commission so as to enable him to collect the manuscripts for the king's library. 'It would be a great profit to students and honour to this realm,' he wrote; 'whereas now the Germans, perceiving our desidiousness and negligence do daily send young scholars hither that spoileth them and cutteth them out of

[1] Leland, 'New Yeares Gifte' (Bale's preface), reprinted in Warton and Huddesford, 'Lives of John Leland, Thomas Hearne, and Anthony à Wood,' and by Dr. Copinger in 'Bibliographiana,' No. 1, 1895, already quoted.

[2] Ward, A. W., and Waller, A. R., 'Cambridge History of English Literature' (vol. iii., 'Renascence and Reformation'), 1909, pp. 48, 328-30.

libraries, returning home and putting them abroad as monuments of their own country.'

His request was only partly gratified, but he was enabled to despatch some valuable manuscripts to London, principally from St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. In 1538 Leland was again at Canterbury, but this time his visit was to the monastery of Christ Church, attached to the cathedral. The library was at that time located in the prior's quarters. The commissioner who had been sent down to investigate the affairs of the monastery was then on a visit 'to Christ Church, when according to Leland his servants got drunk, the fire occurred, the Prior's quarters were partially burnt out and (Prior) Selling's valuable collection of books which was stored there was destroyed.' The foregoing information is given by Mr. Beazeley, Hon. Librarian to the Dean and Chapter of Canterbury, in his monograph on the library in the Bibliographical Society's Transactions.[1] Mr. Beazeley also states that Leland gave a list of twenty-four volumes which he saw at that time in the refectory. The fire extended to the adjoining library, and was considered by John Twyne ('De Rebus Albionicis, Britannicis atque Anglicis,' Lond., 1590, pp. 113-4), quoted by Mr. Beazeley, a worse disaster than the sack of the Danes in 1011. No further disturbance, however, seems to have overtaken the remainder of the books as a result of the commissioner's visit. The history of the library is

[1] Beazeley, M., 'History of the Chapter Library of Canterbury Cathedral,' Trans. Bibliog. Soc. (1904-6), 1907, viii., pp. 113-85. (See especially pp. 144-7.)

continuous to the present day. It is worth mentioning, however, that in Queen Elizabeth's reign, Mr. Beazeley states, it suffered depredations, not at the hands of its foes, but at those of its should-be friends, since Archbishops Parker and Whitgift pillaged it for their own private pnrposes.

Leland's visit to Glastonbury Abbey library appears to have excited his greatest interest: 'He was struck with devotion and astonishment at the very sight of so many sacred remains of antiquity,' Hearne tells us,[1] so much so, that 'he spent some days in most nicely examining the shelves and in turning over the wonderful peeces he there met with; . . . in ramaging he had found among other books a broken peece of history written by Melchinus an Avalonian, about the year of our redemption, 560.' This last sentence entitles Leland to the claim of being called the father of local history and bibliography.

As has been already stated his visit of inspection to Bury St. Edmunds took place after the suppression of the monastery there—in the words of the recommendatory letter, requesting that he be given every facility for research on the king's behalf: 'And where as Master Leylande cummith to Byri to see what bookes be lefte yn the Library there or translated thens into any other corner of the late monastery, I shaul desier you upon just consideration to forder his cause and to permytte him to have the use of such as may forder hym yn setting forth such matiers as he writeth for the

[1] Hearne, T., 'History of the Antiquities of Glastonbury,' Oxford, 1722, p. 67.

King's Majeste.'[1] Here was the monastery evidently now derelict. The books or manuscripts might or might not have been preserved, as the words 'what bookes be lefte' imply. All Leland had to do was to inspect them, take their titles, and reserve for the king's library such as he considered of value. The terms of the original mandate from Henry, 'to enter and search the libraries of all cathedrals, abbies, priories etc., as likewise all other wherein records, writings and whatever else were lodg'd that related to antiquity,' apparently did not extend to the general preservation of what were then modern printed books, but which rank with us among the valuable relics of the past.

In 1542 Leland was presented by the king, through Cranmer's influence, to the rectory of Haseley, in Oxfordshire, and in 1543 he became Canon of King's College and Prebendary of Salisbury. But his latest years were spent first in his own house in the parish of St. Michael-le-Querne, east of St. Paul's, in the City of London, and, lastly, in the house of his publisher, Reginald, or Reyner, Wolfe, in the same parish. So far as we can gather, his duties as a priest never seem to have been so congenial to him as his pursuit as an antiquary.

The melancholy tale of his closing days, of his inability to arrange and digest his documents, of his appeal in Latin verse to Cranmer to procure him an assistant, of his illness, attack of insanity,

[1] Warton and Huddesford, 'Lives of John Leland, Thomas Hearne, and Anthony à Wood, 1772, i., p. 15.

and death are told elsewhere. Nearly all his writings were published posthumously, and the somewhat complicated history of the fate of his manuscripts is given in his 'Life' in the Dictionary of National Biography, and in other accounts. The following is a brief outline. Leland's MS. collections were made over, after his death, by Edward VI. to Sir John Cheke, tutor to the young king. When Cheke left England the 'Collectanea' (containing amongst other things the accounts of visits to monasteries) passed into the hands of Humphrey Purefoy, whose son presented them to William Burton, historian of Leicestershire, and brother of the author of the 'Anatomy of Melancholy.' The original MS. of the 'Itinerary' passed to William, Lord Cecil, and afterwards to Sir William Cecil, and they, too, subsequently became Burton's property. In 1632 Burton gave the five volumes of the 'Collectanea' and seven out of the eight volumes of the 'Itinerary' to the Bodleian. The eighth volume he inadvertently lost; but it was afterwards found, and reached the same destination in 1677. In the course of their wanderings the manuscripts were liberally used by Stow, Camden, Dugdale, and by Burton himself. Bale, who was in close literary companionship with Leland during much of his life, drew largely upon the 'Collectanea' to write his history of English literature[1] ('Illustrium majoris Britanniae Scriptorum Summarium in quinque centurias divisum,' 1548). At or about this date of the publication of Bale's work, Leland was either in the house of

[1] 'Bale, John, Life of,' Dict. Nat. Biogr., 1885, iii., p. 42.

Reginald Wolfe, with whom, as already stated, he spent his closing years, or else he was in close communication with him. It was about 1548 that Wolfe designed a universal history and cosmography, and this coincides with the date at which Leland's health began to fail. It is stated that he 'inherited Leland's notes,' but if the manuscripts passed into the hands of Cheke some time during the reign of Edward VI., it is difficult to see how Wolfe's possession of them could be more than temporary. It is to be assumed, therefore, that a copy was made of such portions as would be found useful in the design. Wolfe and Holinshed[1] worked up the 'Chronicles,' afterwards published under the authorship of Holinshed, Wolfe having died in 1573. The 'Chronicles' before publication passed into the hands of the publishers George Bishop and John and Luke Harrison. They were, however, printed by Henry Bynneman in 1577, according to Mr. Plomer.[2]

The conclusions to be drawn from this brief study are the following:

(1) No exaggerated estimate can be made of Leland's work either as a cataloguer or as a collector of books and manuscripts. It is evident that he was much hampered by opposition from the agents directly concerned in the suppression of the monasteries, and by the half-heartedness of his royal employer, whose love of learning was overwhelmed by his cupidity.

[1] 'Holinshed, R., Life of,' Dict. Nat. Biogr., 1891, xxvii., p. 131.

[2] Plomer, H. R., 'Henry Bynneman, Printer,' Library, 1908, N.S., ix., p. 242.

(2) As regards the question of Leland's personal enthusiasm in the work of rescuing manuscripts and books there can be no two opinions. Had he lived in a later age the result might have been very different. It is clear, too, that the name of John Bale, sometime Bishop of Ossory, must be honourably coupled with that of Leland in the good work —such as it was.

(3) That Henry VIII. was profoundly interested in the rescue of the literary treasures of the religious houses is a wrong assumption. Had it been so Leland would in the first instance have been instructed to seize and take possession of all documents and books he could lay hands upon. As we have already seen he had to apply to Thomas Cromwell for additional powers, and these were only partly granted. Of course taste for learning, whether hereditary or acquired, is never wholly lost. The affairs of state have never been able to extinguish it in some of our greatest politicians. Even with Henry the canker of rapacity did not eat out his love of letters, and this showed itself in his being very glad to take for his library such acquisitions as Leland was successful in making.

(4) And lastly, from the point of view of national history the suppression of the monasteries has been differently regarded—some considering it an unmixed blessing, some a necessary evil, and others a disaster. But from the standpoint of learning, literature, and bibliography, the circumstances attendant on the act are such as can only be looked back upon with sorrow and regret.

ARCHIBALD L. CLARKE.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

A LARGE number of new books, English, French, and German, pass through my hands in the course of the year. I have lately found myself wondering whether the 'literature of power,' as De Quincey called it, is dying out, and as Time progresses only the 'literature of knowledge' (books which give information) will survive. For very few of the books I see come under the head of *belles lettres*. Of poetry, drama, or criticism there is little, and although of fiction there is much, most of it is singularly lacking in interest or fine workmanship. But of history, politics, economics, philosophy, sociology, there are many volumes in all tongues, and they reach a high standard of excellence. In the same way, purely literary matters seldom now form the subject of conversation except within a very limited circle. But everywhere I hear questions of politics, economics, sociology, and applied science eagerly debated. I foresee a future Hazlitt writing a book entitled 'The Newest Spirit of the Age,' which shall deal solely with motor-cars and aeroplanes. We who are humble critics of literature, in so far as we try to guide readers to the best, cannot amend or

prevent the *Zeitgeist*, and I only offer these remarks as an apology for the barrenness of the land I have to explore.

Chaucer would seem to be the English poet most likely to interest the French, and it is strange that no complete translation of the 'Canterbury Tales' was made before 1908, and that only lately has any book on 'Geoffroy Chaucer' appeared by a French critic of literature. M. Legouis' 'Chaucer' scarcely reaches the high level of his 'Jeunesse de Wordsworth,' but it offers an excellent account of the poet's life and work to those unacquainted with them; and scattered throughout are passages of criticism which should prove illuminating for the English student of the poet.

Legouis pays a high tribute to the dramatic side of Chaucer's genius. He declares that it is in the 'Canterbury Tales' that the modern play and the modern novel give the first sign of their existence. Chaucer shows the way to Molière and Fielding. Legouis sees clearly, too, the historian in Chaucer, who

'devient aussi véritablement le chroniqueur social de l'Angleterre de la fin du quatorzième siècle que Froissart est le chroniqueur politique et militaire de la même époque. Il le devient d'autant mieux qu'il prétend moins à faire tâche historique, qu'il ne vise pas à noter les évènements contemporains, ni à juger, ni à tirer une morale. Ce qu'il fait, c'est une transcription directe de la vie commune saisie dans quelques journées qui n'ont rien de mémorable, prise sur le fait dans ses actes familiers. Chaucer est le plus précieux document pour qui essaie d'évoquer la vie d'alors, justement parce qu'il n'a aucune soumission à la hiérarchie consacrée des évènements et des hommes, qu'il

va droit aux plus ordinaires, choisis tels à dessein comme étant le plus largement représentatifs.'

In his humour Chaucer at times is akin to La Fontaine: he calls up the French writer's 'gaillardise mince, élégante, aux lèvres un peu pincées.' At other times he appears as 'le rival nullement inférieur de Rabelais.' But, as Legouis points out, Chaucer never allows his humour to overwhelm him. One of the great attractions of the 'Canterbury Tales' is the easy and frequent passage from grave to gay, from lively to severe. He has, too, always preserved the gift of loving and admiring: 'jamais la moquerie, discrète ou bouffonne, n'a flétri en lui la poésie.'

Chaucer's power of pathos is, his French critic declares, 'exquis.'

'Il n'est aucun poète, même parmi les plus grands, qui le dépasse pour la pure et juste expression des sentiments tendres. On le proclamerait sans aucune outrance d'éloge Virgilien ou Racinien, si sa voix n'était aussi distincte. Comme Racine et Virgil, il mérite de fournir un adjectif qui désigne une nuance particulière d'émotion suave et pénétrante.'

Chaucer made effective use of the three centuries of French literature that he found to his hand; and he offers perhaps the only example of the combination of 'une littérature automnale avec un langage printanier. Chaucer très jeune et très mûr, allie le charme de ce qui débute à l'expérience de ce qui a beaucoup vécu.' Threads of many different colours are woven in his work. He found some of them more beautiful than others, but it is

on the contrast of all that he based his philosophy of life and the laws of his art.

Two books concerned with the history of French poetry call for notice. The first volume of the 'Histoire de la Poésie Française au XVIe siècle,' by Henry Guy, deals with 'L'école des rhétoriqueurs.' The 'rhétoriqueurs' of whom Pierre Gringoire is perhaps now the best remembered, were composers of rhetorical allegories, and flourished between Villon and Marot. Marot, indeed, was much influenced by them, and M. Guy declares that Marot's works cannot be properly understood, and that the 'Deffense' of Du Bellay loses half its meaning, if the tastes and methods prevailing at the end of the middle age are ignored. These 'rhétoriqueurs' are the earliest workmen of the Renaissance, and prepared the way for it by their passionate love of antiquity. In their eyes every Greek and Latin book was a sort of Bible, and to this was mainly due the rising of the seven stars of the 'Pléiade.'

H. J. Molinier's 'Essai biographique et littéraire sur Octovien de Saint-Gelays, Évêque d'Angoulême (1468-1502)' is an interesting piece of biography and criticism concerning one who was both 'poète courtisane' and a high ecclesiastic, but more the former than the latter; he was a 'jeune poète des mieux doués, instruit, fin, délicat, quelque peu ambitieux, courtesan fort habile, quoique grand seigneur, passionné pour les lettres.' A work of greater importance by the same author is 'Mellin de Saint-Gelays (1490?-1558): Étude sur sa vie et sur ses œuvres.' Molinier gives here an admirable

picture of the social and literary conditions in which Saint-Gelays' work was produced. He describes and explains the peculiar society that gathered round Francis I. and Henri II. And, perhaps, we value Saint-Gelays the most for the crowd of details he gives—details not to be found in the memoirs of the time—concerning the manners, customs, and events of 'la haute société' in France in the sixteenth century. It has been said that the works of writers who have frequented 'society' and taken pleasure in it 'respirent un parfum spécial, un charme subtil qui est au génie ce que la grâce est à la beauté.' Certainly no poet of that epoch 'ne laisse percer dans ses ouvrages un tel amour des plaisirs mondains.'

As a poet Saint-Gelays belongs both to the Middle Age and the Renaissance, and occupies a place between Marot and Ronsard, although he forms a strong contrast between 'le bonhomme' Marot and 'le hault visant' Ronsard. Above all he was, as the French term it, 'italianisant.' He introduced the madrigal into France, and, Mr. Sidney Lee tells us, 'seems responsible for the earliest French experiment in Italian sonneteering.' Mr. Lee further points out that Wyatt evidently knew Saint-Gelays' poems in that form, and based one or two of his own on them. Molinier declares that if Saint-Gelays is not the father of the French sonnet, he is at least its godfather, 'il l'a poussè dans le monde et produit à la Cour.'

The French are fond of marking a distinction between the writings of men and of women. In his volume entitled 'Les femmes auteurs,' Vicomte

de Broc takes for his text the following passage by Legouvé:

'Il est quatre genres secondaires qui leur [*i.e.* les femmes] promettent des succés éclatants. C'est la poésie élégiaque, le roman, le style épistolaire et la causerie. Là toutes leurs qualités sont de mise, leurs défauts deviennent des qualités. Les femmes sont nos maîtres et doivent l'être dans la causerie et le style épistolaire. Que nous représentent, en effet, les lettres et les entretiens? Une improvisation, improvisation de sentiments aussi bien que de paroles.'

It will be remembered that George Eliot thought that women should make distinctively feminine contributions to the intellectual pursuits in which they engaged. Vicomte de Broc's book is of the slightest. When he has stated that women succeed in poetry and in the novel by the gift of imagination inherent in their sex, in memoirs by the vivacity of their impressions, and in letter writing by their naturalness because 'le genre épistolaire' is only pleasing so long as it is not an art, he has little besides to say that is in any way illuminating.

Ernest Tissot, in 'Nouvelles Princesses de Lettres,' takes a different position. He declares that 'la femme ne deviendra géniale qu'à la condition d'oublier qu'elle est femme. Elle ne sera pas un homme intellectuellement parlant, comme des fâcheux l'insinuent, mais elle sera une torche comme Hélène Vacaresco, une lumière comme Ellen Key, l'étoile comme Ste-Térèse.' He gives a penetrating study among others of the work and temperaments of Mme. Daudet, of Marcelle Tinayre, whom he characterises as a new George Sand, and

of Mathilde Serao, but the criticism leans too greatly to the intimately personal to help much towards an æsthetic appreciation of their writings. He notes that when a woman has once gained a public by the portrayal of some one emotion, she repeats it to satiety. This is by no means a fact peculiar to women writers, but belongs to the prolific second-rate novelists and dramatists of both sexes.

We are so accustomed to class Swiss authors either as French or German that it is somewhat surprising to find on our table a volume entitled 'Histoire de la littérature Suisse des origines à nos jours.' The authors, Virgile Rossel and Henri Ernest Jeuny, include among the writers of Switzerland Calvin, Haller, Rousseau, Vinet, Mme. de Staël, Benjamin Constant, Gotthelf, Gottfried Keller, Conrad Ferdinand Meyer, Eugène Rambert, and Edouard Rod. Literally speaking they are correct, but distinctly French or German influences and conditions went to the forming of the genius of these men, and it will require some adjustment of our mental position to think of them as Swiss. The book is well written and arranged, and should be of use to the student of literature.

The first volume of Philipp Witkop's 'Neuere deutsche Lyrik,' dealing with the period from Friedrich von Spree to Hölderlin, is just issued. The second volume will deal with German lyric poetry after Hölderlin down to the present time. The introductory chapter on 'Lyrik und Lyriker' is extremely interesting and helpful. It is shown how the epic poet and the dramatic poet are bound to the world of objects, while the lyric poet raises

himself above the more or less scattered interests of objects and facts to an inner unity, to a personal entirety, and thus, as Novalis said, creates heroes and unites the finite with the infinite.

The new German plays and novels are not very inspiring. Gerhart Hauptmann in, 'Die Ratten,' takes Berlin low life and its borderland as his subject. The chief character is Frau John, a mason's wife. She presents, as it were, the tragic side of the heroine of the 'Biberpelz,' but with the life and vivacity left out, for the latter, with all her sins, or her lack of moral sense, was a living woman. No one in this tragi-comedy, as Hauptmann names it, except the mason himself, is straight or true, and one cannot help wondering what he is doing in that galley. As some one says, 'everything here is rotten, undermined, eaten away by vermin, rats, and mice.' It is a sordid tale of deceit, brutality, and murder, and yet it illustrates the tragic side of the strength of the maternal instinct.

'Die Kinder,' Hermann Bahr's last play, is a comedy in which, as is usual in these days, nothing happens. All the characters talk incessantly; they discuss, they argue, till they weary us. The theme is twofold: heredity and the superiority in their own eyes of twentieth century children to their parents. It turns out that both the children, a girl and a boy, really have the mother who has always been attributed to them. But there has been a sort of game of general post with the fathers. The children would seem to have inherited their characters and qualities chiefly from the mother. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the science of eugenics

to know if this demonstration has any scientific value, but it makes an uncommonly dull play. The action, or perhaps I should say the talk, is complicated and difficult to follow.

The German novelist seems, unconsciously doubtless, to be following Mrs. Humphry Ward's example, and making actual people and actual facts the basis of his story. In 'Purpur,' by Edward Stilgebauer, the romance of the life of King Ludwig II. of Bavaria is told, and in 'Königsliebchen,' by Gustav Klitscher, that of Jerome Bonaparte. The lives of both these princes present admirable material for romance. They are not treated historically in these books, but they, and those connected with them, appear under thinly veiled disguises; and it must be confessed that the plan in both cases is successful, and the novels are full of interest and well worth reading.

Although the name of Valentine de Milan, Duchess of Orleans, is well known, Emile Collas has made the first attempt actually to write her history. Her period, the end of the fourteenth century, the end of the Middle Age, is exceptionally interesting in that it resembles a preface to modern history. And besides, Valentine de Milan is one of the most attractive figures in French history. Her story is a sad one. She loved her husband, and pursued his assassin with as much tenacity as the Scottish queen who lives for us in Rossetti's 'King's Tragedy' pursued her husband's murderers. Valentine had the motto, 'Rien ne m'est plus, plus ne m'est rien,' inscribed on the walls of her apartments. The tale is well told,

with sympathy and yet with impartiality. Every statement is based on authorities, and the whole shows careful and laborious research.

In 'Marquis de Saint-Maurice. Lettres sur la cour de Louis XIV., 1667-70,' edited with an introduction and notes by Jean Lemoine, we have new and picturesque details on men and matters of the Court of Louis XIV. The letters—a veritable 'Journal de Cour'—are addressed to the Duke of Savoy, and form a series of sketches on the two first campaigns of the war with Holland, the disgrace of La Vallière, the triumph of Mme. de Montespan, the affairs of the Chevalier of Lorraine, the last years and death of Madame, the marriage of La Grande Mademoiselle, and the disgrace of Lauzun. But it is perhaps the portrait of the King himself that gives the book its greatest value. 'Le roi Soleil' appears in these letters as an entirely human person. But it is disappointing that there should be scarcely any reference to the great literary figures of the time or to the stage. Saint-Maurice seems once to have met La Rochfoucauld, whom he characterises as one of the greatest geniuses in the kingdom. The lack of an index or a table of contents much detracts from the value of the book.

Material for the historian may be found in Arthur Chuquet's 'Lettres de 1815. Première Série,' a volume in the 'Bibliothèque inédite de la Révolution et de l'Empire.' The letters belong to the period of the return from Elba, Napoleon's march on Paris and the beginning of the Hundred Days. The contents of the volumes in the series are not necessarily arranged chronologically, nor

will only unpublished documents be included. Anything which, although it has appeared before, is difficult of access or requires commentary, will be inserted, for says Chuquet very wisely, 'l'inédit déjà "édit" les uns le liront pour le premier fois, les autres aimeront à le relire.'

A memoir as fascinating as any novel is 'Le Roman d'un Royaliste sous la révolution. Souvenirs du Cte de Virieu,' by Marquis Costa de Beauregard. Costa died about a year ago, and René Bazin in a charming preface gives an account of Costa's life and career. The book is dedicated to the Marquise de Virieu with the hope that she will love the ancestors of her husband, who are described in it, for 'la souffrance est un mot de passe entre les âmes. Avoir beaucoup souffert, c'est parler toutes les langues. C'est être compris de tous.' The life and death of this stanch royalist are the romance of history itself. He died for his cause at the siege of Lyons. The story, full of adventure and pathos, is told with a vivacity and directness that make it delightful reading. His relations with his wife and children are full of charm, for he married for love at a time when people married 'par convenance ordinairement, par ambition souvent, par pauvreté quelquefois, mais jamais par amour.'

Wherever we go nowadays, in nearly all the books on any subject we chance to open, we are met with the word progress, and some of us flatter ourselves that progress is an entirely new thing discovered by ourselves the day before yesterday. Jules Delvaille, however, thinks differently, and has in the 'Collection historique des grands philosophes'

written a volume entitled 'Essai sur l'histoire de l'idée de progrès jusqu'à la fin du XVIIIe siècle.' He defines progress as a sort of rupture between what has been, what is, and what will be. He traces the different conceptions of progress that have obtained since the world began, and shows how these different notions may exist in the same philosopher. However much social life is dominated by the idea of progress, the movement of thought cannot be enclosed in a frame of one pattern.

* * * * *

The following recently published books deserve attention:—

Louis Bonaparte en Hollande d'après ses lettres, 1806-10. Par André Duboscq.

The letters are preceded by an 'aperçu historique,' and interspersed by necessary explanatory matter so as to form a continuous narrative.

Thouret, 1746-94. La vie et l'œuvre d'un constituant. Par Ernest Lebègue.

No special biography of Thouret has before appeared. He was a fine orator, and a very important member of 'l'assemblée constituante.'

La Marine Militaire de la France sous les règnes de Louis XIII. et de Louis XIV. Tome I. Richelieu, Mazarin, 1624-61. Par G. Lacour-Gayet.

The 'mot' of an admiral, quoted in the preface, 'l'histoire technique de la marine peut vieillir: je ne crains pas de le répéter, son histoire dramatique sera toujours jeune,' serves sufficiently as an introduction to this interesting book. The second volume will deal with Colbert, Seignelay, L. et J. Pontchartrain, 1661-1715.

La troisième Campagne d'Italie (1805-6.) Par Edouard Gachot.

There is an interesting chapter on Michel Pezza, 'le vrai Fra Diavolo.' The book is furnished with portraits, maps, and plans of great interest and usefulness.

Kleine historische Schriften. Von Max Lenz.

Essays written between 1885 and 1897. The subjects include Ranke, Luther, Napoleon and Prussia, Bismarck in various aspects.

Die Staufischen Kaiserwahlen und die Entstehung des Kurfürstenthums. Forschungen von Hermann Bloch.

A close piece of research in twelfth and thirteenth century history.

Das Drama Heinrich von Kleists. Band I. Kleists Ringen nach einer neuen Form des Dramas. Von Heinr. Meyer-Benfey.

An elaborate study and criticism of the subject for the expert and the man of culture. The second volume will appear in the autumn.

Gerhart Hauptmann. Die Entwicklungsgang seiner Dichtung. Von Kurt Sternberg.

A survey of all Hauptmann's work up to the present date, with explanations and summaries of the plays and novels, and criticism from Sternberg's standpoint.

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The following studies in English literature are of interest:—

Jeremy Colliers Angriff auf die englische Bühne. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des englischen Dramas. Von Dr. Johannes Ballein.

A very complete and detailed study of the subject.

In Studien zur englischen Philologie, edited by Lorenz Morsbach:

Das englische Faustbuch und Marlowes Tragödie. Von Dr. R. Rohde.

Tudor-Stuart Views on the Growth, Status, and Destiny of the English Language. By J. L. Moore.

Die sprachliche Form der Chaucerschen Prosa, ihr Verhältnis zur Reimtechnik des Dichters so wie zur Sprache der älteren Londoner Urkunden. Von Johann Frieshammer.

ELIZABETH LEE.

AN 'ANONYMOUS' ROYALIST WRITER: SIR EDMOND PEIRCE.

AMONGST the numerous petitions presented to Charles II. on his Restoration, was one from Edmond Peirce, D.C.L., in which, after recounting his services in the field, rendered to the late King, and the severe losses he had suffered at the hands of the Commonwealth by sequestration, he goes on to state 'that hee hath nevertheles written, and with much danger and expence published in print many things, which have been very serviceable to his now Majesty and the Church.' What these 'things' were is shown in a document attached to the petition, and headed, 'A Note of the severall peeces written and privately printed and then published by Sir Edmond Peirce, knight and Doctor of Lawes,' which consists of twelve items:

1. The Kentish Petition delivered by Sr William Boteler and other Kentish gent. in the house of Commons, although the same were voted scandalous and seditious, and to bee burnt by the hangman. [British Museum pressmark: E. 142. (10)]

2. His Majesties just right and title to the crowne asserted in full and free parliament, and the successe against him, an argument rather to bring him in, than keepe him out.

3. An appeale in the case of the late King his party. A thing written and caused to bee delivered to Oliver, when the knife was conceaved to bee even at all our very throats. [E. 1956. (17)]

4. Vox Veri Anglorum, or Englands lowde cry for their king. [E. 763. (3)]

5. Anglorum Singultus, or the sobbs of England poured forth, to bee presented to General Monck. This was enclosed and sent to General Monck the same night hee first came into London. [E. 774. (3)]

6. England's Monarchy, asserted and proved to bee the freest state and best comonwealth throughout the world. [E. 1016. (16)]

7. The grand designe of the Jesuits upon England discovered, &c. [E. 1019. (16)]

8. The addresse to Gen: Moncke, and the declaration of the gentry of Essex, &c. [669. f. 25. (1)]

9. The English Episcopacy and Liturgy asserted, &c.; with the most glorious and royall martyr the late King his opinion and suffradge for them. [E. 1032. (10)]

10. The late newes, or letter from Bruxelles unmasked, and his Majestie vindicated from the base calumny and scandall therein fixed on him. [E. 1019. (12) (17)]

11. Severall letters concerning the cause, &c., written, though not printed, and sent to severall persons, and diverse of them with books inclosed, &c.

12. Certaine arguments written and delivered to diverse parliament men, against the bill proposed to settle the sequestered livings in the possession of the Invaders. [Dom. State Papers. Chas. II., Vol. I., 113. I.]

Leaving out of account the last two items, which were clearly never printed, we have disclosed by this list the author of ten hitherto anonymous

tracts, published during the Commonwealth period and at the Restoration. Taken by itself this is a gain, because anonymous writings, whether they be good or bad, are always a nuisance to the bibliographer as well as to the reader; but in the case of Commonwealth literature it is certainly interesting, if not always important, to be able to show who was the writer of any particular tract or tracts. In this case the pamphlets were the work of a man of some standing, a man of intelligence, and a man accustomed to reasoning, who had fought and suffered for what he considered to be right, and who remained a staunch adherent to the Royalist cause.

Of the ten tracts known to have been printed, nine are in the British Museum and one is unidentified; but Sir Edmond Peirce's name has never been associated with any of them, either in the Thomason Catalogue or the General Catalogue, nor does it appear at all in the Dictionary of National Biography. For these reasons I have ventured to put on record a brief notice of this Royalist writer and his work.

All that is known to me about Sir Edmond Peirce is what is told in the Report of the Committee for Compounding, where it is said that he was a judge of the Admiralty of the Cinque Ports, by letters patent, and held other offices, which he lost through the extinction of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He had chambers in Doctors Commons, and a house in the parish of Greenwich.

At the outbreak of the Civil War he took up arms for the King, and raised a troop of horse, and

no doubt saw some of the fighting. He was in the garrison at Oxford at the time of its surrender, and was set free under the articles then agreed upon, and was granted a pass on the 30th June, 1646. He compounded for his estate shortly afterwards and was fined £82. So much for the man; now for his work. With regard to the first item in the list, the Kentish Petition, we may assume from his claiming the authorship that he had something to do with drawing it up, and that it was by his means that a copy of it was sent to the printers. It is a quarto of four leaves, and its full title is:

'The Petition of the Gentry, Ministers, and Commonalty of the County of Kent, Agreed upon at the General Assizes last holden for that County. The Copie of which Petition being delivered to Judge Mallet (who was for that circuit) and afterwards to the Earle of Bristoll. Which Petition being concealed from the Parliament by the Earle of Bristoll and the said Judge Mallet, was for the same, both committed to the Tower, March 28, 1642. London, printed 1642.'

The petition prayed for the establishment of episcopal government in the Church, for laws against laymen who dared to preach, that the King's message of the 20th January should be speedily taken into consideration, and that a good understanding should be arrived at without delay between the King and the two Houses of Parliament.

The fate of this petition is briefly recorded by Thomason on his copy: 'This was burned by the hand of ye hangman.' But whether he was

referring to the original petition or the printed copies of it is not clear.

The next item in the list has not been identified, and we have no means of knowing whether it related to Charles I. or Charles II.

The third piece is extremely interesting. In his list Sir Edmond Peirce calls it a 'thing written and caused to bee delivered to Oliver, when the knife was conceaved to bee even at all our very throats.' It was, therefore, penned about the year 1654, but was not printed until 1660. It forms an octavo of some 120 pages, and the title runs, 'An Appeal in the Case of the late King's party. Printed in the year 1660.'

In the preface the author says that during Cromwell's protectorate he received reliable information from a 'friend and near kinsman' that Cromwell meditated the entire destruction of the Royalist party, and that this friend warned him either to leave it or expect utter ruin. This kinsman Peirce describes as being of a mild and gentle temper and disposition, though 'misled in his judgement,' and as one who was on great terms of intimacy with Cromwell. Sir Edmond Peirce implored his friend to use his best influences with Cromwell on behalf of the Royalists, and meanwhile he sat down and wrote 'The Appeale,' 'in a small allowed time (occasions then so requiring it) but great confusion and perplexity of mind, which in such haste done, his said friend, after perusall thereof, himselfe seemed so to approve of it, that he was more desirous then the writer, that it might be speedily shewed to the then Protector, and so

far engaged himself for security upon all events to the appellant that he gave way to such his desires, which were performed accordingly. And what account he thereupon had thereof from his said friend, with order that it should not then be made publike, it is not much materiall further to declare, then is herein above premised.'

The fact that this pamphlet has been ascribed to the pen of Sir Roger L'Estrange makes the above account especially interesting, while anyone with a taste for speculation may busy themselves with the identity of the 'mild and gentle friend' who was in Cromwell's confidence. Like Clarendon and most of the writers of that time, Sir Edmond Peirce was given to long and involved sentences and stilted phraseology; but he wrote fearlessly, and although he was writing to Cromwell, he was in no sense servile nor abusive, but put the case of himself and his fellow Royalists in a masterly way, so that this book deserves to rank with the best literature of that period.

The remainder of Sir Edmond Peirce's work does not call for much notice. Most of it consisted of appeals for the restoration of the Monarchy, based on the failure of the Commonwealth and the great sufferings that large classes of the people were enduring. A passage in 'Vox Veri Anglorum' speaks of the contempt in which the Rump Parliament was held, which, the author says, 'may be easily heard and seen, not onely in the open streets chanted out in Rithmes and sonnets, but upon the wals of almost every Ale-house and tipling-hutch.' He warns General Monck that he has

such an opportunity for restoring the nation to its former prosperity as no man had had for twenty years.

'Anglorum Singultus, or the sobbs of England,' was a pamphlet of twelve pages that bore the imprint: London printed for D. L. 1660. This was also an appeal to Monck couched in very much the same strain as the preceding, while 'Englands Monarchy' and the 'Addresse to Gen: Moncke,' were intended to drive home the arguments.

But Sir Edmond Peirce was not only a Royalist to the core, he was also a staunch believer in and upholder of the Church of England. Hence we find in this list two pamphlets dealing with this subject. The item entered as, 'The grand designe of the Jesuits upon England discovered' is doubtless the eight-page pamphlet, without title-page, published according to Thomason on 4th April, 1660, with the heading, 'The Jesuits grand design upon England, clearly discovered in a letter lately written from a Father of that Society.' The letter is signed J. M. and addressed from 'Doway 27. March, 1660 Stilo novo.' As there is no reason to suppose that Sir Edmond Peirce would claim credit for another man's work, we must suppose him to have been the author of this tract, and that the signature and address were fictitious. In connection with this it is interesting to note that the type with which this pamphlet was printed was the same as that used in the 'Appeale.'

The second of these two pamphlets followed a few months later, Thomason's copy bearing the date 14th July, 1660. The full title is:

'The English Episcopacy and Liturgy asserted by the Great Reformers abroad, and the most glorious and Royal Martyr the late King, His Opinion and Suffrage for them. Published by a private Gentleman for the Publique Good. London: Printed by Thomas Leach for Henry Seile, over against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet Street, 1660.'

As its title implies, this was a defence of the Church of England against the Church of Geneva. It consisted chiefly of extracts from the writings of Calvin, Beza, and Casaubon, intermixed with historical anecdotes concerning some of the martyrs of Queen Mary's reign, and finishing up large quotations from the writings of King Charles I., which the author introduces with this fulsome paragraph:

'But let a Retreat be made from these crude lines and a listen given to those charming drops from a Royal pen seraphically enabled whilst on earth, and now so transcendently qualified, as not to be reached so much as in any imagination, which frail humanity is in the least sort capable of.'

Truly Sir Edmond Peirce's loyalty amounted to idolatry. In the tracts 'England's Monarchy' and 'The English Episcopacy' we get a clue to the printer, the first having the imprint, 'London, Printed by W. G. for Richard Lowndes at the White Lion in St. Paul's Churchyard 1660,' and the second, 'London. Printed by Tho. Leach, for Henry Seile, over against St. Dunstan's Church, in Fleet Street. 1660.' The 'W. G.' probably indicated William Godbid of Little Britain.

'The Declaration and Address of the Gentry of the County of Essex,' a broadside issued on 28th

April, 1660, did not reveal the printer, being 'printed for Gabriell and Thomas Collins at the Middle Temple Gate in Fleetstreet,' while the pamphlet 'Anglorum Singultus' is even more vague; its imprint is 'London, Printed for D. L. 1660.' No bookseller with such initials has been found at this period, and it is impossible to guess who they can stand for. None of the other pieces make any mention of either printer or bookseller.

One or two of these can be identified as coming from the same press, but there is not enough evidence to enable us to say with certainty whether that press belonged either to the W. G. or Thomas Leach above mentioned, or to some other printer.

HENRY R. PLOMER.

ON THE RED PRINTING IN THE 1611 BIBLE.

HAVING to take a certain part in preparing a 'reduced facsimile' of the 1611 Bible in connection with the Tercentenary Commemoration of its issue, it was my business to find out what the printer of 1611 meant by certain unusual red marks, appearing to the number of many hundreds, in the Calendar pages, which are partly printed in red. Examination revealed that the same sort of marks appear not only in the 1611, but also in the 1613, 1617, 1634 and 1640 editions of the Authorized Version, and that they are not always in the same place, nor always of the same length. If these are accidents in the printing, why should such a large number appear in so many Folio Bibles; and can their presence be explained?

We will turn to the page of the 1611 Bible beginning 'January hath xxxj days.' On this page, in many cases where letters appear in red in the tables, there is also in their immediate neighbourhood an unnecessary red line. It is usually short, it is sometimes longish, and where longish it never gives the whole of the 'rule.' In this page there are as many as eighty-one such cases.

These do not appear at all in the Oxford facsimile. Being regarded as defects in the printing, they have been 'routed out' in every case. Was it correct to

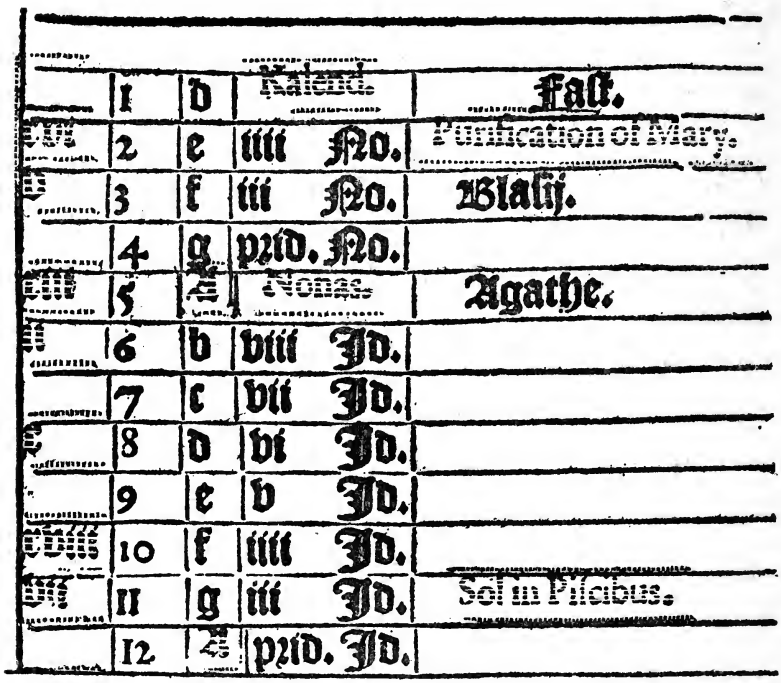

Fig. 1.—Part of the February page of the Kalendar of the 1611 Bible. (The red lines and letters of the original appear here in black with square dots, or scored through.) This is an instance of bad register. Observe under the word 'Mary' the notch in both red and black lines, proving that both were printed from the same piece of metal.

'rout' them out? Were these lines, perpendicular and lateral, an unnecessary and unintended effect of the old printer? Let us put ourselves in his position, and see if we can answer these questions.

We will suppose that he had completed setting-up, and had submitted proofs of the Calendar pages in black only. Having got the pages passed for press, he would impose them two pages in a forme, and lay the forme on the bed of the press. We can tell exactly which two pages were so placed. The Bibles of 1611-40 are arranged for binding in 12-page sections; that is to say, three printed sheets of four pages each are inserted one into the other, and so folded, making a strong back,

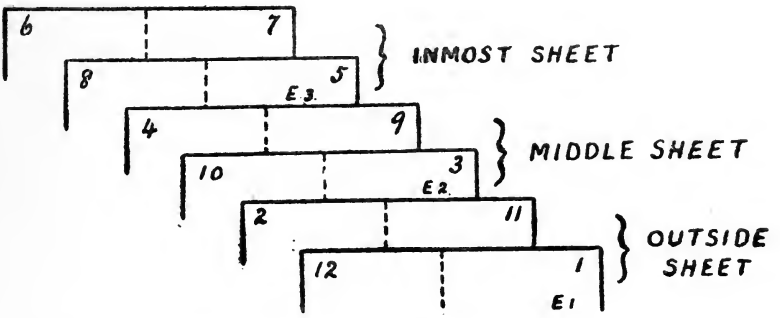

Fig. 2.—Diagram showing mode of arranging pages for sewing a section (12 pp.) of the 1611 Bible. Each sheet is of course printed on both sides: the separation is only to show the numbering of the pages.

through which the sections are sewn. A simple diagram will show what is meant. Consequently if page 1 is badly out of register, one would expect to find page 12 also badly out of register; and this is usually the case. The next proceeding of the 1611 printer would be to raise the types to be worked with black ink, by means of a thick underlay, to such a height above the red as would prevent the red from receiving an impression when the frisket was doubled down and the press was

pulled over. One can see that this is what he did, because everything that ought to appear in the black appears. Even when there are black rules running amongst the red letters, these black lines appear perfectly correct and unbroken. Having printed the full number of copies of the black forme of two pages (no doubt having arranged the second page in the same way), he would then lift his forme off the press, remove the underlay from the black, and attempt the more difficult task of printing in the red.

Here, a word about the press and the paper. Our printer's wooden handpress, the platen of which would cover only one page at a time, although the bed would hold two pages, would be a poor implement for two-colour-printing. His paper, handmade of course and deckle-edged, would vary in size—if not to a great extent, at any rate sufficiently to prevent perfect register. The frisket on the handpress, even in modern days, is a sort of jointed continuation of the tympan, rather like a window-sash without glass — the missing panes being represented by holes cut out of a sheet of stout paper stretched tightly on the frame. The holes let through the types which are to appear on the sheet; the solid paper keeps out everything else—or rather should keep out everything else—which is not to appear. But parts of the rules in the Calendar pages of the 1611 Bible are so close to the red letters, that no mere holes cut in a paper frisket with a pair of scissors would prevent part of the rules from appearing; yet the solid part of the frisket would block out the remainder. It is to

this, undoubtedly, that the unintended and unnecessary bits of red which we see in such profusion, are due. The ink-balls have supplied them with red ink against the will of the printer; the frisket has let part of them through, again contrary to the will of the printer, but it has blocked out most of the black forme. The register was good, because the red letters were never removed from the forme, and it could not be otherwise than correct so far; and whatever variation there might be, was due to the slight difference in size of the sheets of paper, only revealed when our printer laid them to needles on the tympan which served him as guides.

I have said that the workman's press, a wooden one, was twice as large in the bed, that is, the table on which the forme lay, as in the platen, that is, in the flat part which comes down and gives the squeeze. Why was this? Firstly, it is easy to see that two pages *must* be printed on one side of a single sheet of paper and two more on the back of them, or there would be nothing to fold or to sew through, when the completed work had to be bound. Secondly, if the platen of the press had been enlarged until it was big enough to take two folio pages, then every other part of the press must be enlarged to correspond, and an unwieldy piece of mechanism would have been the result, requiring twice the power to work. No; the handpressman, having inked his forme, and doubled down his frisket, ran the table half in, and pulled the platen down on to one page, *i.e.*, on half his forme; then, having released the pull, he ran the second half under the platen and so printed his second page.

But to return to the red forme. This time the 1611 printer would have to raise the type intended to be printed in red by means of a thick underlay, and to let down the black. But here his troubles would begin. He would put snippets of paper one under the other beneath each red letter until he got it to a sufficient height to raise it above the black; and the difficulties of underlaying the numerous letters scattered in and out among the rules would be very great. The printer of whom we are thinking was not, it must be remembered, inking his forme with a roller: such things were not invented till nearly two centuries later. Our printer would be using two convex pads fitted with wooden handles, *i.e.*, the printing balls described in Moxon, 'Mechanick Exercises,' No. VI. These ink-balls were only sufficient to ink part of a folio page at a time; yet the trouble of the 1611 printer in this case would be, not to cover much type, but to cover little. He evidently did ink part of the page here and there; and he evidently did work the red from the same forme which still held the black. On a Calendar page of the 1617 Bible, 'To Find Eaſter for Euer,' at the bottom of the table, is a long brace, made up of pieces of type-metal. It has a curl round at one end and a broken joint. The curl and broken joint are both faithfully repeated *in red* close to the previous printing in black. The printer could, and did, when he had anything like sufficient space round the letter he was inking, avoid reproducing the lines in the immediate neighbourhood of the rubricated letter or letters; but when the rule was close, the skill

of the printer was not sufficient to prevent the elastic surface of the ink-ball from leaving a certain quantity of red ink on the rules which had been

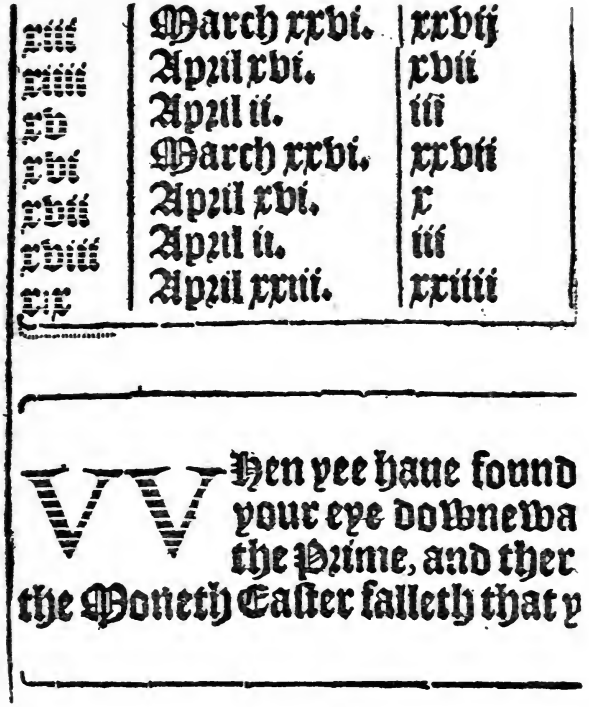
March xxvi. xxvij
Aprill xvi. xvii
Aprill ii. iii
March xxvi. xxvii
Aprill xvi. x
Aprill ii. iii
Aprill xxii. xxiiii
When yee haue found
your eye downewa
the Prime, and ther
the Moneth Easter falleth that y

Fig. 3.—Part of the 'Table to finde Easter,' from the Kalendar of the 1617 Bible. (The red lines and letters of the original appear here in black with square dots.) Excepting for part of the 'brace' the register, it will be observed, is very good.

previously printed in black, and which were, while the red forme was being produced, only to a small extent below the surface of the red. Sometimes the register was good, and then, as may be seen by inspection, the red was actually printed on the top

of the black. The paper no doubt was damp, and the impression drove it down.

It only remains to add that in the two illustrations to this article which represent fragments or the Calendar pages, the red markings of the original are represented by scored letters and dotted lines.

HORACE HART.

THE AUTHOR OF THE 'MODUS LEGENDI ABBREVIATURAS.'

AMONG the tracts printed in the fifteenth century which are catalogued in the handbooks as anonymous is one entitled 'Modus legendi abbreuiaturas in utroque iure.' It appears, however, to have been hitherto overlooked that the author's name, along with other information, is contained in the form of an acrostic in the section entitled, 'De decreto uersificato.' The introduction to this section runs as follows: 'Sed quia decreti rubricas nimis esset taediosum enumerare propter maximam multitudinem, ne tamen naturam eius praeteream uersus subiungam totam materiam decreti significantes in genere de qualibet distinctione et omnibus quaestionibus cunctarum causarum.' After this explanation come the verses themselves, some 290 hexameters, beginning: 'Collige uersus quid uult distinctio quaeuis,' the first letters of which can be read downwards to the following effect:

Wernherus monstrat ut sic distinctio fiat
Sancti Germani Spirae canonicus
Cuius erat patria Schussenrieth in Sweuia.
Discere causarum quarumlibet ordine membra . . .

Thus far the tenor of the passage is quite certain, though numerous minor emendations are necessary

to restore it. The remainder has been so freely altered that the sense cannot now be recovered, and the condition of the whole suggests that it has been worked over by an editor who was unaware of Wernher's acrostic. Two further points may be noted; firstly, that the acrostic is exactly the same, apart from one or two accidental variants, in all the printed editions, and, secondly, that the 'editio princeps' appears to be that of the R-Printer at Strassburg, *c.* 1475 (Hain *11480), a city to which work from Speier would at that date naturally be sent for printing.

The name of Werner of Schussenried is unknown to the general authorities for this period; but presumably his date is not much anterior to that of the R-Printer's issue of his tract. The college or S. Germanus, in which he was a canon, lay outside the walls of Speier, and was sacked and burnt by the troops of Frederick I., Elector Palatine of the Rhine, when they ravaged the Bishop of Speier's territory after the battle of Seckenheim, 30th June, 1462—a date which may perhaps be taken as a 'terminus ante quem,' for the college was not rebuilt, but was, after some discussion, merged or incorporated in that of S. Maurice within the city at the beginning of 1468.

VICTOR SCHOLDERER.

THE SO-CALLED GUTENBERG DOCUMENTS.[1]

IT is argued, not unreasonably, that in 1450 Gutenberg must have been able to show a specimen of his work to Fust, and to convince him that it would be profitable, otherwise Fust would not have lent him any money. Some authors contend that already in October, 1448 (see above, Doc. No. XVIII.), two years before Gutenberg's Mainz printing-office was in full (!) operation, his rich relatives had realised the practicability of his plans, as in that year they procured for him his first Mainz loan (Schorbach, 'Festschr.,' p. 273). Schwenke ('Centralbl.,' 1901, p. 292) thinks that from the beginning of the contract with Fust [that is 1450, when Fust lent him the first 800 guilders] till the commencement of the printing of B42 in 1453, Gutenberg made 'experiments' and manufactured his types for this Bible. And Zedler says ('Gutenb.-Forsch.,' p. 93) that he can trace Gutenberg's experiments twelve years further back, that is, to 1437. As Zedler derives this year from his interpretation of the Strassburg Law-suit of 1439, which I cannot accept, I leave

[1] Previous articles on this subject were printed in Vol. X. of the Second Series of the 'LIBRARY.'

it out of the question, merely asking what specimen or specimens could Gutenberg have shown to his relatives in or before 1448, and to Fust in 1450?

To facilitate the discussion of this question I give here two lists of the early types and books which have hitherto been attributed, some to Gutenberg, some to Schoeffer, some to Pfister, but which the chief German bibliographers of the present time attribute all to Gutenberg. The first list (A) contains the books printed either in the B^{36} type, *i.e.*, that of the 36-line Bible, or in type resembling it; the second (B) enumerates the books printed in the B^{42} type, *i.e.*, that of the 42-line Bible, which, for reasons explained below, must be ascribed to Peter Schoeffer, not to Gutenberg.

Gutenberg's types and books according to Schwenke, Zedler, and other German bibliographers.

A.

Type 1 *a*. First phase of the (Gutenberg or) 36-line Bible type, called the Donatus type, which Gutenberg is said to have manufactured before his art of casting type was so far developed that he was able to make the type for B^{42} (Zedler, 'ält. Gutenberg-type,' 1902, pp. 1, 14). Schwenke ('Veröff. der Gutenberg-Gesellsch.,' ii., 2) states that its height (including up- and down-strokes) is slightly over 8 (8-8.3) mm., the body of the *n* measuring about 5 mm., with a little blank space left between the lines.

(i.) Poem on the 'Weltgericht' (Last Judgment); now called, Extract from the German Sibylline book ('Veröff.,' v. 1); fragment of one paper leaf, showing eleven lines on both sides. It was discovered at Mainz about 1892, having apparently served as back to some documents presumed to have belonged to the Mainz University Archives. At that time it belonged to Eduard Beck, employé of a Mainz bank, who presented it in 1903 to the Gutenberg Museum. It is presumed to be the oldest product of Mainz typography, and to have been printed *c.* 1443-7 (Zedler and Wallau in 'Veröffentl.,' iii.; Schwenke in 'Centralbl.,' 1908, p. 75). Prof. Edw. Schröder ('Veröffentl.,' iii., 7 *sqq.*) thinks that the whole poem consisted of fifty-six verses in forty-six lines; that it was written after 1350; that, philologically, the language is against the Mainz idiom; that it was the work of a dilettant, who was not a native of Mainz, but lived not far from it.

(ii.) Donatus, twenty-seven uneven lines; no interpunction; fragments of two rubricated vellum sheets = four leaves (4, 5, 8, 9), recently discovered by Prof. Voulliéme in the Heiligenstadt Gymnasial Library, in the binding of a copy of Joh. Herolt, 'Sermones de tempore et sanctis,' Strassburg (M. Flach), 1488 (Hain *8496), now preserved in the Berlin Royal Library. Schwenke ('Centralbl.,' 1908, p. 71 *sqq.*) states that the leaves belong to an edition differing from the Paris Donatus in the length of its lines (which measure 160-7 mm. against 155-62 mm. in Paris) and in the arrangement of the text. He thinks it is the earliest [German] Donatus hitherto known, and should be placed after the 'Weltgericht,' but before the Paris Donatus.

(iii.) Donatus, twenty-seven lines, small folio; two vellum leaves (5, 10) of an edition of fourteen (?) leaves, preserved in the Paris National Library. It is usually called the Donatus of 1451, this year being written on one of the leaves, though Zedler considers it a forgery

of Prof. Bodmann, who discovered the fragments *c.* 1800 at Mainz (see G. Fischer, 'Typog. Seltenh.,' p. 55 *sq.*; *id.* 'Essai sur J. Gutenberg,' p. 68 *sq.*). This Donatus is now placed before the Kalendar of 1447-8. Zedler ('Veröffentl.,' i., p. 14 *sq.*, and Facs.) states that it shows 'the same type' as the Kalendar, but in an earlier, more imperfect stage. Schwenke says ('Veröffentl.,' ii., p. 24) that its type is in an 'experimental and transitional stage,' and ('Centralbl.,' 1901, p. 291) that it shows a *t* which is older, he thinks, than the *t* in the books enumerated below; the new *t* appears already in the 31-line Indulgence, though he is of opinion that the Donatus and Kalendar types are not Gutenberg's first products (see Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 176 *sqq.*; J. E. Hodgkin, 'Rariora,' ii., 1902, p. 28).

(iv.) Donatus of twenty-seven (?) lines in the Berlin Royal Library. Two strips of vellum leaves (40 mm. by 20 mm.), containing the remains of three lines and about thirty (partly mutilated) letters, found in the Heiligenstadt Library, in the binding of a copy of Joh. Herolt ('Sermones de tempore et sanctis,' Strasburg, printer of the 'Vitas Patrum,' *c.* 1485; Hain *8495). Schwenke ('Centralbl.,' 1908, p. 75) states that the fragments show the characteristic Donatus type, with the oldest *i*, *s*, and *t*, and the same text, differently arranged, as the Paris leaves (the recto = Par. 5^a, li. 18-20; the verso = Par. 5^b, li. 18-20).

Zedler thinks that many experiments must have preceded the Astronomical Kalendar which follows, and is printed in a new type of the same form as the above type 1 *a*.

Type 1 *b*. Second phase of the above type 1 *a*, also called the Kalendar type, and living on, according to Schwenke ('Centralbl.,' 1908, p. 70), from 1448 to 1457; see below, nos. xv., xvi.

Zedler ('Veröff.,' iii., 19) thinks this to be a new type of the same form as type 1 *a*, and ('Veröff.,' i., 16; 'Forsch.,' p. 103) he is of opinion that Alb. Pfister, who understood neither the cutting nor the casting of types, bought it of Gutenberg and continued to use it while still at Mainz.

(v.) Astronomical Kalendar, said to be for the year 1448, therefore supposed to have been printed at the end of 1447. Fragments of two large vellum sheets (49.41 cm. by 18.5 cm.) printed on one side only, discovered in 1901 by Dr. Zedler ('Veröff.,' i.) in the binding of a manuscript bound in, and belonging to, the monastery of Schönau, in Einrich, near Mainz, now preserved in the Landesbibliothek (No. 19) at Wiesbaden. It calculates, for one year, the ephemerides of the phases of the moon, etc., and is thought to have originally consisted of six leaves (33½ by 24 cm.) printed on one side only, one for every two months; the leaves preserved give the calculations for January, February (tenth line cut away), March and April; therefore, the third part, perhaps, of the whole. It is presumed that a Kalendar belonging to it must have been printed on a separate sheet, or that it served as an Appendix to a so-called perpetual Kalendar.

Zedler ('die ält. Gutenberg-type') gives a facsimile of the document, and says that in this faultlessly printed Kalendar we have the types of B[36] as they appear in the Turk-kalendar (see below, no. viii.), though some of the types differ, and ('Veröff.,' iii., 19) that many specimens must have preceded this work of 1447, pointing out (pp. 8, 11) that some of the *t*'s and several other letters and combinations of letters have been touched up by hand (see below, p. 200 *sq*).

Schwenke ('Veröff.,' ii., 1 *sqq*. and p. 24) says that a long interval separated this Kalendar from the 1454 Letter of Indulgence and the Turk-kalendar; and on

p. 28 explains that this Kalendar is a stage in the development of the printing practice of B^{42}; see Bauschinger, in 'Literar. Centralbl.,' 1902, col. 1662, against K. Haebler, *ibid.* col. 1434 *sq.*

(vi.) 31-line Indulgence, beginning 'Vniuersis'; three different issues (A, B, C) with the printed year mccccliiii., and one issue (D) with the printed year mcccclv., all printed on vellum. Of issues A and B no sold copies have yet come to light. But three unsold copies of each are preserved at Brunswick, Wolfenbüttel and Hanover (Culemann collection). Of issue C ten sold copies are known to exist in various libraries, with dates ranging from 22nd October, 1454, to April, 1455, besides three unused copies. Of issue D ten sold copies, with dates from 7th March, 1455, to 30th April, 1455, and four unused copies are known.

The Church-type used in this Document for the distinguishing words has always been thought to be identical with that of B^{36}. But minute differences show that this cannot be the case. The type (ii.) used for the text is bastard Roman, for which see below. See Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 150; Schwenke, in 'Veröff., ii., 10. Zedler ('Forsch.,' pp. 58, 77, 78) ascribes this Indulgence type (its small size presupposing a deal of training) to Schoeffer, though he must have manufactured it in Gutenberg's office, basing this opinion on peculiarities in the type, which he regards as Schoeffer peculiarities, and on Schoeffer's colophon, in which he alludes to Peter and the two Johannes.

(vii.) Donatus, twenty-six lines, two rubricated sheets (= four leaves, 1, 2 + 9, 10) of an edition of eighteen leaves, placed between 1447 and 1450, preserved in the Berlin Royal Library ('Centralbl.' xxvii., p. 65 *sqq.*).

(viii.) 'Manung widder die Durken' (Turk-kalendar). Almanac for January, 1455 (therefore printed in December, 1454) in 4°. Five (six) paper leaves, twenty and twenty-one uneven lines on a page (5*b* and 6 blank).

A copy discovered in 1806 in the Jesuit Library at Augsburg, now preserved in the Munich Hof-Library. According to Zedler ('Veröff., i., 16, 118) printed with the types of the 1448 Kalendar, but when already somewhat worn. He also thinks that this and the numbers xi. and xii. were printed at Bamberg. *Cf.* Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 157; Schwenke, in 'Veröff.,' ii., 11.

(ix.) A German translation of the Bull of Pope Calixtus III., dated xii. Kal. July (= 20th June), 1456. Fourteen rubricated paper leaves, 4° (13[b] and 14 blank), in the Kalendar type, though two of the capital E's belong to the B[36] type ('Centralbl.,' xxvii., 73). Preserved in the Berlin Royal Library. Not to be ascribed to P. Schoeffer.

(x.) Donatus, twenty-seven (or thirty?) lines, which seems to have consisted of twelve vellum leaves, of which the leaves (imperfect) 1, 2, 8, 11, 12 have been preserved. One fragment of a leaf (11?) showing twenty-five lines, a second of a leaf (12?) showing twenty-six lines, in the British Museum (C. 18 e I. No. 5). Leaves 1 and 2 are in the Bodleian Library (Auct 2. Q infra I. 50. No. 5 from the Kloss collection), and leaf 8 in the Mainz Town Library. See Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 159, No. 6, 7. Zedler, in 'Veröff.,' i., 41, gives (reduced) facsimiles (Plates ix. and x.) of the fragments, and says that it is an edition of thirty lines; Schwenke (*ibid.*, ii., 21, with facsimiles and p. 29) places this Donatus between the Turk- and Laxier-Kalendars.

(xi.) Conjunctiones et Oppositiones Solis et Lunae (now called by German bibliographers Laxier- or Aderlass-Kalendar). A calendar for 1457, therefore printed at end or 1456; a broadside paper sheet, apparently without a watermark, printed on one side, of which the upper half (the months January to June, that is nineteen lines and traces of the twentieth, *i.e.*, second line for July) of the only copy known, discovered in the Mainz Archives (by G. Fischer, in 1803), is in the Paris Library. Originally it seems to have consisted of thirty-six lines of text with

three lines as heading. See Schwenke, in 'Veröff.,' ii., 13, Zedler, 'Gutenberg-Forsch,' p. 96 *sqq.*, and in 'Veröff.,' i., 37, where he gives a facsimile of it on Taf. v. The document measures 18.5 by 26.6 cm.

(xii.) Der Cisianus (not Cislanus) zu Dutsche. A folio paper sheet, printed on one side, thirty-six lines, with separate headline. It is thought to be a Kalendar for 1457 (= end of 1456), or for 1456 (= end of 1455); see Zedler, 'Gutenberg-Forsch.,' p. 96 *sqq.*, and in 'Veröff.,' i., 16, 48. Schwenke, 'Veröff.,' ii., 15; Wyss, in 'Centralbl.,' 1901, p. 145; K. Haebler, 'Le soi-disant Cisianus de 1443,' Besançon, 1902 (also in 'Le Bibliographe moderne,' An. 6, 1902, pp. 5-40, 188-210); Edw. Schröder, in 'Centralbl.,' 1902, p. 437 *sqq.* The Tross copy mentioned in Suppl. to Brunet's 'Manuel' (1878, s. v. Cislanus) was bought in 1870 for the Cambridge University Library.

(xiii.) Donatus, twenty-seven lines; fourteen (?) vellum leaves (in a quire of seven sheets). The British Museum (pressmark C 18 e i. No. 2) acquired the leaves 4, 10, and 11 (entire), with fragments of ll. 2, 6-9 and 13, from the Kloss collection. A fragment of six and a half lines in the Bodleian Library may belong to this edition, as also two small fragments of the leaves 1 and 14 (?) discovered in the Gymnasial Library at Heiligenstadt in the binding of a volume (perhaps bound at Erfurt). See Schwenke, in 'Centralbl.,' 1908, p. 75; *id.*, in 'Veröff.,' ii., 17; Zedler, in 'Veröff.,' i., 15, 18, 41, who gives facsimiles (reduced) on plates vi. to viii.; Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 158, No. 5.

(xiv.) Donatus, twenty-seven lines (length 150 and 157 mm.). Schwenke, 'Centralbl.,' 1906, p. 449 *sqq.*, calculates this edition to have consisted of one quire of seven vellum sheets (= fourteen leaves), of which the two rubricated centre sheets (leaves 6 to 9) have come to the Berlin Royal Library from the collection of Gust. v. Emich (No. 195, 196) at Vienna. He adds (1) that they are printed in the Kalendar type; (2) the arrange-

ment of the text deviates from that in the London Donatus, wherefore he places it after that edition, but before the Bamberg-Oxford fragments; (3) the form of the types is the same as that of the London fragments, and sharply distinct both from the oldest form of the Donatus type and the B^{36} type.

(xv.) Donatus, twenty-seven uneven lines (150-4 mm.). Three strips of a rubricated leaf (5), discovered in the binding of a copy of 'Aen. Sylvius Familiares Epp.' (Nürnberg, 1481) preserved in the Karlsruhe Hof- u. Landesbibl. Schwenke ('Centralbl.,' 1907, p. 112) states that the present fragments can belong neither to the London nor to the Berlin Donatus, though he failed to ascertain whether they could belong to the Munich or to the Oxford-Bamberg D^{27}, and thinks that they may be part of a fifth edition of twenty-seven lines in this type. It shows some similarities with the London D^{27}, the 'Cisianus' and the Laxier-Kalendar, but has an *a* which he has not found anywhere else.

(xvi.) Donatus, twenty-seven lines, one rubricated vellum leaf (6), in the Kalendar type, from Erfurt, in the Berlin Royal Library ('Centralbl.,' 1910, xxvii., 62).

(xvii.) Donatus, twenty-seven, twenty-eight, or thirty (?) lines. Fragments of a vellum sheet (two leaves) of this edition discovered in the binding of a copy of Pauli Veneti 'Summa Naturalium,' Mediol. 1476, in fol. which from the Episcopal Library at Salzburg was transferred to the Munich Hofbibl. (pressmark, Rara, 103, 1 m.). Schwenke, describing the fragments ('Centralbl.,' 1906, p. 452 *sqq.*), calculates that they may be the fourth and ninth of an edition of twelve leaves, though certain circumstances lead him to think that it might have consisted of thirteen (12 + 1) leaves of twenty-eight lines. The impression, he says, is good and clear, resembling that of the Munich Donatus of twenty-seven lines.

(xviii.) Donatus, twenty-seven lines. Fragment of a vellum leaf (3 ?) discovered in the binding of the Latin

MS. 24,510 of the Munich Hofbibliothek. Schwenke, in 'Veröff., II., 19, No. 8 (Facs. Taf. 3), points out some additions to the type of this edition.

(xix.) Donatus, twenty-seven lines, which presumably also consisted of seven vellum sheets, but is only known from two vellum fragments of the leaves 6 + 9, the upper part of which is preserved in the Bodl. Library (Auct. 2 Q infra I. 50, No. 6), the lower part in the Bamberg Royal Library (vi., F. 1). Schwenke ('Veröff.,' ii., 20, and Taf. iv. facs.) says that the two fragments were found in the binding of a Bamberg Act-book, and that one of them belonged to Kloss before it came to Oxford; *cf.* Zedler, Veröff., i., 42 *sq.*, and Taf. xi. (facs.).

(xx.) Donatus, twenty-eight (?) lines. One defective vellum leaf, showing twenty-five lines, formerly in the possession of Jacq. Rosenthal (Incun. typ. ii., No. 2154), afterwards in the Amherst Collection (Sotheby's Sale Catal., No. 288. Seymour de Ricci's Handlist, No. 5).

Another leaf (apparently the corresponding half of the sheet) in the Mainz Gutenberg Museum. Schwenke ('Veröff.,' ii., p. 23, and Taf. vii., and 'Centrabl.,' 1907, p. 114) ascribes this edition to Pfister of Bamberg.

1*c*. *New fount of types* 1*a and* 1*b*, with various stamps and matrices modified, according to Zedler (in 'Veröff.,' i·, 18, 45 *sqq.*), who points out several differences between the types of B36 and the smaller works described above. On these differences see also Schwenke, in 'Centralbl.,' 1901, p. 289 *sqq.* Zedler (in 'Veröff., i., 48) thinks that Albrecht Pfister, while still at Mainz, obtained this type from Gutenberg, but printed B36 at Bamberg, not before 1457 (*ibid.*, pp. 37, 48). Schwenke (in 'Veröff.,' ii., 1) regards the type of B36 as a 'continuation' of the Donatus and Kalendar type, and calculates that, in this way, this type has had a life

of nearly twenty years, that is, from about 1443 (the supposed date of the 'Weltgericht') till about 1462 (the last known date of Pfister).

(xxi.) Bible of thirty-six lines. Two volumes, folio, 882 leaves, with two columns of thirty-six lines each on a page. Some bibliographers, assuming that Pfister printed it, call it the Pfister Bible. A paper copy is in the Paris Library, and also a separate copy of the last leaf (Apocalypse), which bears the rubricator's manuscript date 1461. Other copies are preserved in the Rylands-Spencer library, in the British Museum, at Jena, Leipzig, Antwerp, etc. (Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 160; Bernard, 'Origine,' ii., 31). Schwenke ('Untersuch.,' p. 75 *sqq.*) is of opinion that the leaves 1 to 4 recto of vol. i., and the leaves 1 and 2 recto of vol. ii., were printed from a manuscript, but that the remainder of the book is a careless reprint of B^{42}. Zedler ('Forsch.,' p. 104) thinks that Pfister began B^{36} before B^{42} was finished, but after having printed the first nine pages, laid the work aside, to take it up again after the publication of B^{42}. He calculates that eighty copies were printed on paper and twenty on parchment (*l. c.*, 106). See Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 160.

Of the small text- or brief-type ii. of the 31-line Indulgence of 1454 (the manufacture of which Zedler ascribes to Peter Schoeffer, though working in Gutenberg's office; see 'Veröff.,' i., 49; 'Gutenberg-Forsch.,' p. 76, and Schwenke, in 'Veröff.,' ii. 10) no further trace has been found.

[For types iii. and iv., see List B of Schoeffer's books.]

(xxii.) Type v. The 'first stage' of type vii., supposed by Otto Hupp ('Ein Missale Spec.,' 1898) and others to have served for printing

(1) A 'Missale speciale,' in the possession of Herr Ludw. Rosenthal at Munich; (2) a 'Missale Abbreviatum,' discovered in 1900 in the Benedictine Church of St. Paul, in the Lavantthale. Most German bibliographers agree that these Missals could not have been printed before 1480.

(xxiii.) Type vi. The large type of the Psalter of 1457.

(xxiv.) Type vii. The small type for the same Psalter (said to be the 'second stage' of type v.). Both vi. and vii. were also used for the 'Canon Missae' of 1458, a copy of which is preserved in the Oxford Bodleian Library. See H. Wallau, in 'Veröff.,' iii., 37 *sqq.*

(xxv.) Type viii. used for

(1) Joannes de Balbis, 'Catholicon' of 1460, folio, 373 leaves, two columns of sixty-six lines each; (2) Matth. de Cracovia, 'Tractatus racionis,' twenty-two leaves, thirty lines to a page, 4°; (3 and 4) Thomas de Aquino, 'Summa de articulis fidei'; two 4° editions, one of thirteen leaves, with thirty-four lines to the page; the second of twelve leaves, with thirty-six lines to the page; (5) An Indulgence of 1461 of fifteen lines.

B.

Printer of the B42 (Peter Schoeffer).

Types iii. and iv.

(i.) 30-line Indulgence; one issue (A) with the printed year mccccliiii., and two issues (B, C) with the printed year mccccl. quinto. All printed on vellum. Of issue A only one copy has been discovered (now in the Rylands-Spencer Library) which was sold at Cologne on 27th

February, 1455, the printed year mcccclliiii. having been altered with the pen to mcccclliiij. Of issue B two sold copies, with dates Apr. 11 and 29, 1455, are in the Berlin Royal Library and the British Museum. Of issue C a sold copy with date Apr. 24, 1455, is at Wolfenbüttel.

Type iii. (Church type) has hitherto always been regarded as identical with that of B4², but recent researches have brought out the fact that this is not the case (see 'Veröff.,' i., 49; Schwenke, 'Untersuch.,' p. 58).

Type iii. continued:

(ii.) Bible of forty-two lines (also called the Mazarine Bible), printed before 15th August, 1456, as the binder of the paper copy of vol. ii. in the Paris Library states that he finished its rubrication on that day, and that of vol. i. on the 24th of the same month. Two volumes, folio, 641 leaves of two columns of forty-two lines each, but in some copies the columns of pp. 1-9 contain forty lines only, while the tenth page has two columns of forty-one lines each, though the difference in the number of lines makes no difference in the space which they occupy. For other copies see Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 170; Dziatzko, 'Beitr. zur Gutenbergfrage,' Berlin, 1889. Schwenke, 'Festschr.,' has drawn up a list of all the copies known to be still in existence, and on p. 67 suggests that Gutenberg may have printed some small books before 1453 with this type, before it was filed down. No trace of them has as yet been found. In 'Centralbl.,' 1905, p. 259, he declares that with this type Gutenberg created his first, perhaps his only, great work. In the copy known as the Klemm copy, bought by the Saxon Government in 1886, and presented to the Deutsches Buchgewerbemuseum at Leipzig, the year '1453' is written in small Arabic numerals of fifteenth century form, at the bottom

of the last leaf of the second volume. But this date is highly suspicious, for Klemm, who must have known the importance and high value of such an early date if genuine, never mentioned it, though he described his copy three times, in 1883 and 1884 (see Hessels, in 'THE LIBRARY,' July, 1908). But Schwenke ('Veröff.,' ii., 1, 26; 'Gutenberg-Feier,' 1900; 'Centralbl.,' 1901, p. 289 *sqq.*) and Zedler ('Veröff.,' i., 8, etc.; 'Centralbl.,' 1907, p. 207) accept it as genuine.

(iii.) Donatus of thirty-three lines (125-30 mm.). Vellum fragment in the Bodleian Library. No printed initials.

(iv.) Donatus, thirty-three lines (132-5 mm.). Vellum fragment at Paris, without printed initials; three rubricated leaves (5, 6, 8) in the Berlin Royal Library ('Centralbl.,' xxvii., 68).

(v.) Donatus, thirty-five lines, printed, according to the colophon, 'per Petrum de Gernssheym, in urbe moguntina cum suis capitalibus.' It is ornamented with the initials and uncials of the 1457 Psalter. See Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 171, No. 8. Schwenke would place it between 1467 and 1469 (p. 68). Copy in the Paris National Library (Vél. 1038), and one leaf in the Cambridge University Library.

(vi.) Donatus of twenty-six lines (long 110 mm.). One defective (nearly unimpaired text) vellum leaf, discovered in a Munich private library, in the binding of a volume printed at Cologne in the early sixteenth century. It is now in the Mainz Gutenberg Museum Schwenke ('Centralbl.,' 1905, p. 531) thinks that this leaf may belong to the same edition as that in the British Museum.

(vii.) Donatus of twenty-six lines (long 105 mm.). One vellum leaf at Mainz, another at Hanover, a third in the British Museum (Schwenke in 'Centralbl.,' 1905, pp. 529, 531). The uncials of the 1457 Psalter are used for the initials of the chapters; see Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 168, No. 3.

(viii.) Donatus, thirty-three lines (125-8 mm.) One defective vellum leaf (the first), in 1903 announced for sale in Ludw. Rosenthal's Cat. 105, No. 3, with facs., and purchased by the Berlin Royal Library (Libri in membr. impr. 64[1]). The uncials of the large Psalter type are used for the initials of the chapters; for the first initial (P) room was reserved, but it has not been filled in. Schwenke, in 'Centralbl.,' 1905, p. 529 *sq.*

(ix.) Donatus, thirty-three lines. One vellum leaf (the first), in the Berlin Royal Library (pressmark, Libri in membr. impri. 64, 2), discovered in the binding of a volume which formerly belonged to the Abbey of Ochsenhausen, and contained various incunabula of Pforzheim, Spire, Cologne till 1508. Its text differs slightly from the preceding edition; the first initial is filled in (red) by the rubricator; the other initials (of chapters) are the Psalter uncials. Schwenke, in 'Centralbl.,' 1905, p. 530 *sq.*

(x.) Donatus, thirty-three (?) lines. Small fragment of a vellum leaf (*ca.* 12 by 7 cm.) discovered in the binding of Incun. V 33000 in the University Library at Giessen. Schwenke ('Centralbl.,' 1905, p. 532) calculates that it may be leaf 10 of a rubricated copy, and tells us that although it has (in ch. 33) wrongly 'audiunt*ur*' for 'audiunt*or*,' just like the 35-line edition with Schoeffer's name, its text differs from the latter edition, nor can it belong to the 33-line Paris edition.

(xi.) Cantica ad Matutinas; only known from one vellum leaf (the first) in the Paris Nat. Library, considered to be the remains of a Psalterium (perhaps of thirty-eight leaves) for the printing of which Humery (!) may have furnished the type (Schwenke, 'Untersuch.,' p. 72 *sqq.*). Judging from the leaf preserved, the work corresponded in every respect to the 42-line Bible, having double columns, forty-two lines, etc.

(xii.) Donatus, twenty-four lines, printed, according to Schwenke ('Gutenberg-Feier,' p. 70), between 1470 and

1477. See Hessels, 'Gutenberg,' p. 168, No. 3; Leop. Delisle, in 'Journ. des Savants,' 1894, p. 140; Zedler, 'Forsch.,' p. 114.

Of the small text or brief type (iv.) of the thirty-line Indulgence of 1454, which Zedler (in 'Veröff.,' i., 49, and 'Gutenberg-Forsch.,' p. 76) ascribes to Gutenberg, no further trace has yet been found.

In 1840, before the fragment of the Weltgericht (No. 1) had become known, Eug. Duverger ('Hist. de l'invention de l'imprimerie') pointed to the 27-line Donatus (No. 2) as Gutenberg's 'specimen,' and published a facsimile of one of its pages, which Van der Linde copied ('Geschichte,' p. 813).

Both authors told us (see my 'Haarlem, the Birthplace of Printing,' p. 60) that

'the first nine lines of this page were printed with too soft types of lead, and show the rapid wearing out of the types by printing; the types of the next nine lines are less worn; the types of the lines 19 to 24 are still less worn, while the types of the last three lines, manufacttured with the same punches, were cast of better metal, similar to those of the 36-line Bible.'

The Donatus, however, does not bear out this description, otherwise it would, as Zedler rightly remarks ('Forsch.,' p. 51), be a caricature and forgery, in the same way as he regards the notes and the date 1451 written on the leaves, forgeries of the well-known Prof. Bodmann. According to Zedler ('Veröff.,' i., 15 *sqq.*) it was printed with 'the earliest variety of the B36 type,' that is, the 'first phase' of the 'Gutenberg' (or Donatus) type, which also, he says, served for the 'Weltgericht'

[No 1], which latter, he thinks ('Veröff.,' iii., p. 2 *sqq.*), preceded the Paris Donatus, and was printed *c.* 1444-7, when Gutenberg had not yet brought his art to that height which he reached in the Astronomical Kalendar [No. v.] printed for 1448 [therefore at the end of 1447],[1] so masterly [with Gutenberg's *second* phase of the B36 type = the Kalendar-type] that it must have been preceded by many experiments. Zedler tells us that in this 'masterly' printed broadside several letters have been touched up by hand with writing ink, for the purpose of linking them on to the letters which follow them. *Exx. gr.*, wherever *f* is followed by *o* (8th January, 9th February, etc.), or *i* (7th, 9th February, etc.), or *u* (1st March); *t* by *s* (8th February, 7th March, etc.), or *e* (1st April), or *u* (3rd April); *st* by *e* (3rd, 5th January, etc.); *c* by *o* (5th, 11th January, etc.) or *u* (13th January), etc., the strokes through the *f* and *t* and the top of the *c* have been, he says, broadened out by ink by hand, so as to combine them with the letter following. As the types of the Kalendar, he adds,

'are freshly cast, with sharp and expressive outlines, and the fine bows over the *i*'s, the hair-strokes of the *e*'s being nowhere wanting, they required no further touching up. Hence, as several letters are linked together with ink by hand after the printing had been done, this operation cannot have been necessary on account of any defective printing tools; it rather proves that Gutenberg endeavoured to

[1] Zedler ('Veröff.,' i., 14) declares that the dates assigned by him to these three works fill up the gap between Gutenberg's residence at Strassburg (12th March, 1444) and his first appearance in Mainz (17th October, 1448).

satisfy, even in minute details, the public eye accustomed to manuscripts; it was not worth while to manufacture special ligatures for such combinations, wherefore they are also wanting in B^{42}.'

These manipulations, Zedler says, are plainly visible in the original, but not in the photograph, because the ink used for the purpose has everywhere become pale. Therefore, without seeing the original, we cannot test this particular point, on which he lays such stress. As far as I know, such manipulations are not improbable, for I have myself observed somewhat similar operations in copies of the 'Speculum humanae salvationis,' not, however, effected for the purpose of linking certain letters together, but for giving them readable forms when they had come out badly through defective types or printing. If, therefore, Gutenberg printed only this one copy, he might have touched it up with his own hand, or have it touched up by others in his printing-office; in such a case, however, he was not consulting the 'public eye.' But if, as is probable, he printed more copies than one, and had felt anxious to give his work the appearance of manuscript, or to avoid all eye-sore to the public accustomed to combined letters, he could, with little extra trouble or time, have cast these special ligatures while he was making or had already cast others of the same kind. Ligatures, combined letters, and letters with signs of contractions over them occur in the 'Weltgericht' and the Paris Donatus, both printed according to Zedler by Gutenberg in an 'earlier phase' of the same type, so that these characteristic types were not unknown to

him. They appear also in the later Turk-Kalendar, in the Sanitary- or Laxier-Kalendar, and in B36, all printed, says Zedler, in a third phase of Gutenberg's type. In fact, we may feel sure that the early printers, before engraving or casting any types, first ascertained from their manuscript models what letters, combinations of letters, signs of interpunction, and contractions were required. Yet we are invited to assume that Gutenberg's anxiety and care for the public taste did not arise till he had cast this new (second) type for the Astronomical Kalendar.[1] But suppose the three works just mentioned, or even one of them, had been printed by Gutenberg, in the years attributed to them, that is, 1443 to 1447, therefore long before he borrowed money from Fust in 1450, in such a case he must have been fully equipped during that time, for printing; that is, he must have possessed not only types and the instruments (patrices and matrices) for making them, but a workshop, a press, and other necessaries for printing not only this, but any other work, great or small, otherwise he could not have printed anything, nor shown any specimen of his work.

And yet, the Helmasperger document of 1455, if we are to take it as genuine, reveals Gutenberg to us as a beginner, not so early as 1447 or 1443, but so late as 1450, when he had not only to make his 'tools,' but even to borrow the money for

[1] An examination of the Kalendar, on 16th August, 1910, convinced me that the faded spots here and there visible in the document are owing to the fading of the printing ink, and not to attempts to remedy, by writing ink, the imperfections of defective types.

making them, and, in addition, required to be supplied with everything necessary for printing, parchment, paper, ink, etc., and with money for keeping a workshop going, and maintaining himself.

It is, however, now contended that the researches of the late Dr. Karl Dziatzko ('Gutenberg's früheste Druckerpraxis,' 1890) have shown

(1) that (from the tenth page onwards) B^{36} [1] is a reprint of B^{42}; (2) that as the type of B^{36} was already used in 1454 to distinguish two lines and two or three words in the 31-line Letter of Indulgence from its smaller text type, it follows (3) that B^{42} (which was finished before the 15th August, 1456) must have been printed by Gutenberg during his partnership with Fust (1450-55), and that for this Bible he manufactured the 'tools' (= new type) with the first 800 guilders which the latter advanced to him in 1450, after he had spent four or more years in experimental labours, of which not only the above named three, but other small works no longer preserved to us, were the result.

In 1882 I explained in my 'Gutenberg' (pp. 164-8, 171), the bibliographical and typographical reasons which then induced me (and the late Mr. Bradshaw) to ascribe B^{42} to Schoeffer, and

[1] Dziatzko ascribed the types of B^{36} to Gutenberg, but the printing of it to him in combination with Pfister. Accordingly Prof. Hartwig explained ('Festschr.,' 1900, Introd., p. 19) that B^{36} was the 'work' which Gutenberg had to 'finish' for the 800 guilders advanced by Fust. But, while occupied with it, he saw that it was planned on too large a scale, and could not be executed for the money at his disposal. He applied, therefore, for further help, and Fust lent him another 800 guilders, whereupon he cut new types, and printed B^{42} with them.

I am not aware of anything having since occurred or been said to show this to be wrong.

On the first opportunity that offered itself again to me, in 'THE LIBRARY' of 1908 (p. 296 *sqq.*), I endeavoured to point out how Dr. Dziatzko—struck by a 'resemblance' between the types of B^{36} and B^{42}, and overlooking the fact that the earliest printers did not imitate each other's types, but engraved and cast their types after the manuscripts of their time and respective localities—had come to the rather hasty conclusion that the two Bibles were printed in one and the same office, by one and the same printer, that is, Gutenberg.

But Dziatzko's results had already then been accepted and elaborated by Gottfr. Zedler ('Gutenberg-Forsch,' 1901, p. 27 *sqq.*) and Paul Schwenke, who describes in a valuable monograph on B^{42} ('Festschr. zur Gutenberg-Feier,' Berlin, 1900) thirty-eight copies (complete or known only from fragments) of this Bible preserved in public and private libraries, mentioning eight others which cannot now be traced.

Both these learned librarians examined B^{36} and B^{42} from the same point of view as Dziatzko, and while professing to approach the question regarding the printer with an open mind, made it clear from the beginning that they were sure that it was Gutenberg. Like Dziatzko they saw that the types, especially the capitals of the two Bibles, differ from each other not only in size (those of B^{36} being taller and broader than those of B^{42}), but also in form; yet they regard these two different types as in principle the same (Schwenke, 'Festschr.,' p. 78).

Nor do they differ from Dziatzko in their inimitably thorough and microscopic examination of the Bibles, telling us that they made it according to a 'method,' the initiation and perfection of which they ascribe to Dziatzko.

'Our present method of investigation,' says Schwenke ('Veröff.,' ii., 5), 'as it was perfected by Dziatzko, is not content with merely stating the component parts and the forms of a type, but extends the research to the practice of using it, that is, the employment of parallel chief and secondary or by-forms of letters, the use of abbreviations, orthography, interpunction, endings of lines, the treatment of the beginnings and ends of chapters, and similar things.'

It is necessary to mention some details of this 'method,' as it has produced results which cannot, I regret to say, be called satisfactory with regard to bibliography in general, and the controversy on the invention of printing in particular. In accordance with the 'method,' Dziatzko, Schwenke, Zedler, and other German scholars, have minutely examined the books and types included in the above lists. Every letter, every combination of letters on one type, their chief and secondary[1] forms, all the signs

[1] The chief form of the type called 'the Gutenberg type' (for which 'Gothic' is a general and better name), is angular, ornamented above and below with minute projecting spikes or teeth. For instance, an ordinary *u*, as used after *q* (que, quod), or *ſ* (ſuper, ſuſ-), or *l* (-fluo), or *v* (vul-), consists of two perpendicular strokes or limbs, each having on its top as ornament a kind of arrow-head, forming an integral part of these limbs (ꝰ), but projecting slightly on the right and left of the perpendicular strokes of the letter. At the foot of the two strokes the same arrow-head appears in an inverted position (ꝱ), but connected together in the centre by a fine link, while on the top they are separated. This form is, *mutatis*

of contraction above the letters or through their up-and-down strokes, all marks of interpunction, hyphens, etc., are scrutinized, measured and described; the *i*'s with strokes, bows, or dots above them, are counted;[1] likewise the *t*'s with or without cross-strokes and with bows over them; and each of them is called a living symbol of 'Gutenberg's inventive genius,' or of his 'unique conception of beauty and symmetry.' The use of a particular letter, a stroke or a bow over the *i*, a stroke through a *t*, or attached to a *p* (for *per*), allow us, they say, to detect Gutenberg's 'elementary rules' (Schwenke, p. 81), or his 'care and solicitude for harmony' between every stroke, be it a right or a left, an up or a down one.

mutandis, the normal one for all letters. These ornaments differ from the modern 'serifs.'

The 'secondary,' or 'by-form,' has no such arrow-heads on its top, and the two strokes of the *u* are straight up to their top, where they slope slightly leftwards, while at the foot there is no other difference than that the left stroke is rounded off, and has, therefore, no projecting point on its left. This secondary *u* is used after *t*, *c*, *f*, *g*, *r*, *e*, or *a*, etc. Somewhat similar truncated 'by-forms' have *p* (after *e*), *i* (after *g*, *c*, or *r*), *h* (after *t* or *c*), *n* (after *g* or *c*), *m* (after *e*), *l* (after *e*), etc., etc. The 'by-forms' have no projecting arrow-heads, because the latter would interfere with the more or less projecting points on the right of the letters which precede them. Schwenke ('Veröff.,' ii., 4) feels doubtful as to whether this secondary form was obtained by filing down the 'chief' form, or from special patrices and matrices. See also Dziatzko's 'Gutenberg's Druckerpraxis,' p. 51, and at the end; Schwenke's 'Festschrift,' etc.

[1] Sometimes it is not without interest to count how often contractions are used or omitted on a page (see Zedler, in 'Veröff.,' i., 18). The same use or absence of certain contractions may be noticed on several pages of the editions of the 'Speculum humanae salvationis.'

On the other hand, the absence of the same strokes or bows, or the wrong use of chief, instead of secondary forms of types, and *vice versâ*, is to them a sign that the book under examination belongs to a later or earlier period of Gutenberg's activity, or that the book was not printed by him at all ('Veröff.,' i., 20); sometimes he or some compositor is presumed to have trimmed up his types for apparently no plausible reason ('Veröff.,' i., p. 17). In this way Schwenke deals (in his 'Festschrift' and in 'Veröff.,' ii., p. 1 *sqq.*; 'Centralbl.,' 1901, p. 289 *sqq.*) with all the types ascribed to Gutenberg. Abandoning his opinion, expressed a year before, that the B42 type was Gutenberg's *first*, he describes (in 'Veröff.') those of the Paris Donatus (List A, No. 2) as the *earliest* phase or stage of the 'Gutenberg' type, which is said to reappear, recast with some alterations, as a *second* 'phase' or stage, in the Astronomical Kalendar for 1448 (1447), and as a *third* phase or stage (again recast with alterations) in B36 and the Pfister-Bamberg books.

Schwenke himself points out ('Centralbl.,' p. 290) cardinal differences between some of the letters of B36 (*exx.gr.* the *A*, *E*, *R*, *t*, *ct*) and the smaller Pfister (?) books (see List A) which are said to have been printed with an earlier phase of these 'Gutenberg' types. Yet, on account of the many and striking agreements between the other letters, we cannot speak, he says, of two different types, but only of 'two stages of development' of one and the same type, and he feels certain ('Veröff.,' ii., 1) that 'most of these letters were manufactured from the same stamps (patrices), probably even

from the same matrices.' He regards the types of B36 as the latest ('Centralbl.,' p. 290), because they are identical with those used afterwards by Pfister. The older phase, he says, is still employed in the Laxier-Kalendar of 1457 (end of 1456), so that the printing of B36 'cannot have commenced before 1457, and must have been finished before 1461.' He is still uncertain as to whether this Bible was printed at Mainz or Bamberg, but in the water-mark of B36 he found nothing connected with Mainz, except once the 'scales,' which mark was identical with Dziatzko's *a*, and

'the supposition that the copies of the Bible were *sold* from Bamberg gains strength by the Stuttgart copy having been bound in a Bamberg binding-office; the Jena and Greifswald copies were probably also bound there; at Bamberg are preserved fragments of two (paper and vellum) copies (see Wetter, 'Gesch.,' p. 457), while the monastery Ilmbach, where the Wurzburg copy was originally preserved, is situated only about fifty kilometers from Bamberg.'

On p. 18 of his monograph on B42 he says:

'It is astonishing that the first large printed work which we possess is a typographic masterpiece, and it must have taken Gutenberg, even after he had created(!) the moveable type, many years of trial to produce this regular print on strong paper, the brilliant blackness and sharpness of the lines, etc.'

Speaking of the trellis or lattice-like book-writing (*gegitterte Buchschrift*) which Gutenberg used as model, he expresses his surprise and admiration at Gutenberg's dexterity and genius

in manufacturing his B42 type, and presumes that Gutenberg,

'when his observations and experiments had taught him to bring each letter on one type—that is, enclose it in a rectangular space—he must have started with *i*, *n*, *u*, *m*, which oftener occur than the other letters, and have the most simple form. He could have had no difficulty in making these letters in such a way that when they came together their perpendicular strokes would always remain at an equal distance; in this way *in* would take up the same space as *m*; a similar system could be applied to *i*, *l*, *f* (with one stroke); *a*, *b*, *d*, *h*, *k*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *q*, (final) *o*, *u*, *v* (with two strokes); *m*, *w* (with three strokes). But difficulties would present themselves in manufacturing letters like *c*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *r*, *t*, *x*, *y*, which have on the right side of their perpendicular stroke an additional part, which had to be confined in the same space when brought together with other letters. In such cases the scribes made a shift, no doubt unconsciously, and from a natural feeling for symmetry, by closely connecting with such letters the perpendicular stroke following, and omitting the usual point on the left, where the two letters would touch each other. At the foot of the letters, or wherever an up-stroke is found, where the space on the left is free, the points remained unaltered. In this respect, however, Gutenberg could not follow them.'

He then explains Gutenberg's contrivances for making his types square with each other, which, he says, we should not undervalue, though Gutenberg had conceived the first (!) idea of making a distinction between chief and secondary forms, by examining the customs of the scribes. And then adds,

'earlier authors on printing had observed hardly anything

of these contrivances, and had merely wondered about the differences in types. Wetter had noted something of it ('Gesch. der Buchdruckerk.,' Mainz, p. 358), but Duverger had explained the whole system in his 'Hist. de l'invention de l'imprimerie,' Paris, 1840, p. 6, though only with regard to B36. It was then forgotten again, and even Faulmann, the technicus, was not clear about it. Latterly Dziatzko has shown the differences between the chief and secondary forms of the letters, and the systematic difference in their usage. O. Hupp ('Ein Missale speciale,' München, 1898, p. 18 *sq.*) had recognized the reason for this usage, but looked upon it as an art or subtilty of Peter Schoeffer, so that he regarded the almost entire absence of this usage in the Rosenthal 'Missale speciale' as a criterion of its great age, whereas it is the strongest proof against the supposed early date of this work.'

I have quoted Dr. Schwenke thus far, in order that the reader may form some idea of the nature and bearing of the 'method,' and because, incidentally, his last remark about the 'Missale speciale' tersely exposes the error of judgment, which recently caused this work and the 'Missale Abbreviatum,' which bear every mark of having been printed about 1480, to be advertized and described as a work printed by Gutenberg even before 1450.

Dr. Zedler also observed differences between the capitals of B36 and B42, and sees no reason why 'Gutenberg, the manufacturer of the B36 type, should imitate his own B42 type, in cutting his small letters for B36, and work independently with regard to its capitals' ('Gutenberg-Forsch,' p. 31 *sqq.*, and 'Veröff.,' i., 27). But, clinging to the

idea that Gutenberg must have manufactured the two types, he argues that

'Gutenberg, in the first instance, contemplated printing a Missal, as it would be more easy for him to cut its large letters on the stamps (*patrices*). For such a book he required two kinds of letters, one smaller than the other, but cut on stamps of the same size of body (*Kegel*).

He illustrates this theory by a facsimile of two passages in a manuscript Missal, one of which is written, as is customary in Missals, in larger letters than the other, though the larger letters occupy no more space than the smaller ones, and he tells us that

'Gutenberg, after years (!) or experiments, succeeded in engraving the B^{36} and B^{42} types, which both have a height of 8.1 mm. But, beginning to print, he found that he could not overcome the difficulty of printing the numerous *rubrics* required in a Missal together with the black work. (This difficulty still hampered him while he was printing the copies of B^{42} belonging to the first impression.) He then decided on printing a Bible, for which he selected the smaller letters of B^{42}, with which he first printed some pages with two columns of forty lines each; but finding that space could be saved by reducing the body of the types, he filed them down so as to bring forty-one lines in a column (on p. 10), and then seeing that still more space could be saved he filed the types further down, to the size now found in the remaining part of B^{42}, where the columns have forty-two lines, though he had found it necessary to recast portions of his types on this reduced body.'

Again ('Gutenberg-Forsch.,' p. 81),

'Gutenberg created with Fust's money the enormous type-apparatus for the contemplated Missal, and also the

apparatus for B^{36} and B^{42}. The form of the letters he could not take straight from his manuscript model; its creation was rather the result of long thought and numerous experiments, by which the inventor produced that system of artistically limbed letters which we see in B^{42}, which it is Schwenke's great merit to have revealed to us. The manufacture of all these types must have required several years. Composition and printing could only have begun in earnest after the completion of this labour. After many unsuccessful trials, which had to be made in a comparatively short time, Gutenberg became convinced that he would not succeed in creating, in the contemplated Missal, such a masterpiece of his new art as hovered before his ambitious mind.'

The only difference between Zedler and Schwenke seems to be this: the latter thinks that an unknown printer, in manufacturing the B^{36} type, 'roughly imitated' that of B^{42}, but under Gutenberg's eye; while Zedler regards the B^{42} and B^{36} types as Gutenberg's creation, though Schoeffer manufactured some of the capitals of B^{42} ('Forsch.,' p. 45; *id.*, 'ält. Gutenberg-type,' p. 9); he even endeavours to prove ('Forsch.,' p. 34) that in the letters of B^{36} we have the 'firstlings of the most blessed and far-reaching gift of intellect ever devised by the mind of men.'

It is impossible to discuss all the details and hypotheses published by Dziatzko, Schwenke, Zedler, etc., regarding the types and books ascribed to Gutenberg, as such a discussion would require special types, and far more space than they themselves had at their disposal.

J. H. Hessels.

(To be continued.)

THE LIBRARY OF A FORFARSHIRE LAIRD IN 1710.

OOKMEN of the present day are apt to regard the Scottish country gentleman of the early eighteenth century as one whose interests lay anywhere but in literature, and to imagine that he must have had enough to do improving his infertile acres, without indulging in any of the whims peculiar to the bibliophile.

This impression will, we think, be somewhat modified after a glance at the 'Catalogue of Books to be sold by Way of Auction at Dundee, the 20th of March, 1710,' part of which has been reprinted by Mr. Wedderburn, K.C., in 'The Wedderburn Book.' The books were those that belonged to the then deceased Sir Alexander Wedderburn, 2nd Baronet of Blackness, a son or Sir John, and a descendant of the illustrious brothers Wedderburn, of 'Gude and Godlie Ballates' fame. The Catalogue has the volumes arranged (after the old style) according to their sizes. There were 170 folios, 555 octavos, 148 quartos, and 86 duodecimos. Altogether there were more than 1,100 volumes, including treatises on theology, law, philosophy; histories, Greek and Latin classics, demonology, and witchcraft.

In the matter of novels and the *belles lettres* the Baronet had evidently kept himself abreast of the times. Among his light literature were 'The Turkish Spy' (published in 1702), 'The Spanish Libertines' (translated by George Stevens in 1707), and 'A London Spye' (1706), by Edward Ward (who kept a tavern, and was pilloried for his satirical verses, 'Hudibras Redivivus,' and was lampooned in the works of Pope). These books are now well-nigh forgotten, and very rare.

The first edition of Jonathan Swift's 'Tale of a Tub,' published anonymously in 1704 (the price of which now fluctuates between £5 and £10) was another of the works of the time that found its way from London to Dundee, probably two or three years before the Union was an accomplished fact. The 'History of the Renowned Don Quixote,' in 4 vols., dated 1706—being the seventh English translation since 1612, and now worth about £2—was secured at the sale by the Laird of Auldbar for £9 12*s.* Scots (16*s.* stg.); while Mr. Martin, of Grange of Monifieth, obtained 'Montaigne's Essays made English by C. Cotton' (3 vols., 1693) for £2 Scots (3*s.* 4*d.* stg.).

As might have been expected, Shakespeare's Works found no place in the Laird's library, for Shakespeare had not then 'come to his own.' Milton's Works, Butler's 'Hudibras,' King James VI.'s Works, Bacon's 'Essays,' Hooker, Hobbes, Jeremy Taylor, and Locke were among the English classics that found their way from the sale to the libraries of other lairds in Dundee district.

We are not told who secured the copy of the

romantic, if not always reliable, Hector Boece's History (Paris edition, 1574), which realised £13 10*s.* Scots (or £1 2*s.* 6*d.* stg.), but the Laird of Powrie managed to get for £6 Scots (10*s.* stg.) Monsieur Rapin's 'Critical Works in 2 Vols. Englished by several hands'; Mr. John Hill paid £2 Scots (3*s.* 4*d.* stg.) for Dr. Duncan's 'Advice against the Abuse of Hot Liquors,' done from the French; and Innerichtie, another local savant, besides buying several Latin works on Demonology, showed his appreciation of English literature by carrying off for £1 17*s.* (Scots) 'Remarks upon Poetry,' by Thomas Blount (1694), 'an author,' according to Chalmers, the Scottish historian, 'in many ways not inferior to Montaigne.'

Parts i. and ii. of that epoch-marking book, 'Choice Collection of Scots Poems by several Hands'[1] (1706), which, according to literary historians, was precursor to the great flood of late eighteenth century ballads, were bought for 17*s.* by Robert Wedderburn, a brother of the deceased laird; while cousin Alexander, who, five years later, was to show active sympathy with the Stuart cause, chose three books, 'Manning's Life of the Emperor Theodosius,' 'A Lady's Letters of Travels into Spain,' Ainsworth on 'The Five Books of Moses, the Psalms, and the Song of Solomon,' a folio, published in 1639, at £1 7*s.* stg., said by Lowndes to be a 'laborious and useful work, containing a literal translation of all the books mentioned therein, as well as annotations upon

[1] The third part of this work was not published until 1711. The three parts are now worth about £4 4*s.*

them.' The commentator Henry Ainsworth was an English nonconformist, who, on account of his religious principles, was forced to live in Amsterdam, where he acted as minister to a congregation of 'Brownists,' or 'Independents' — the spiritual ancestors of the 'Congregationalists' of to-day. Ainsworth's reputation as a scholar of rabbinical and oriental literature is said to have been equalled by few in Europe of his time. He died in the city of his exile in 1622.

The top price was reached by the disposal for £60 Scots (£5 stg.) of the then newly translated 'Bayle's Historical and Critical Dictionary'—the published price of which was £3 3*s.* in London—a work which had been proscribed in France and in Holland on account of the author's heterodox opinions. At the present day one may pick up a copy for a few shillings. Almost as costly, and assuredly much more recondite, were the works, in six volumes, of the German Jesuit scholar, Athanasius Kircher, bearing the mystic titles, 'Oedipus Aegyptiacus,' 'Ars Magna Lucis,' and 'Sphinx Mystagoga,' which fetched £57 Scots (£4 15*s.* stg.). Another expensive purchase was the copy, in two volumes, of Plutarch's 'Lives,' 'by Several Hands,' at £49 10*s.* Scots (£4 2*s.* 6*d.* stg.), which indicated very clearly that the 'bidding' among the Scots lairds present at the sale was very keen. Altogether the sale realized £3,553 6*s.* 4*d.* Scots (nearly £300 stg.)—a very respectable sum in those days, when, in England, and still more in Scotland, the value of money was much higher than at the present time.

That the Baronet was no exception to the other

Scots lairds of his day in his taste for reading is amply testified by some of the purchases already referred to, and by the fact that more than eighty purchasers at the sale were lairds in the neighbouring districts, and in Fife and Perthshire.

The presence of so many book-buyers from this class at that early period of the eighteenth century, and their evident interest in all kinds of literature, go far to explain the extraordinary activity and output which later decades of the same century were to witness in the prose writings of David Hume, Reid, Adam Smith, Robertson the historian, Smollett, and Boswell, and in the poetry of Thomson, Ramsay, Blair, Home, Hamilton of Bangour, Falconer, Beattie, and Bruce, till the Augustan Age of Scottish Literature culminated in the works of Ferguson and Robert Burns.

C. A. Malcolm.

REVIEWS.

William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal. A study of his period and the influences which affected Shakespeare. By Mrs. C. C. Stopes. (Materialien zur Kunde des älteren englischen Dramas. Bd. 29.) Louvain, Leipzig, London, David Nutt. pp. xiv., 360.

AS Mrs. Stopes reminds us, the researches of previous biographers of William Hunnis have usually ended in the assertion, 'Of his life very little is known.' To find that some 350 large pages have here been written as a record of him is thus a little surprising. Had Hunnis been a more interesting or more important person we should have been inclined to resent Mrs. Stopes's method, for in that case we should have preferred to be given what information there is in a more compact form, interrupted with fewer digressions. But if the truth be told, Hunnis is a pretty dull writer, with no pretensions to anything higher than a 'third' in any class-list of Elizabethan literature, and for aught we know, he may have been a dull enough fellow in his daily life. But he lived in interesting and picturesque times and in interesting and picturesque employments, and when Mrs. Stopes pours forth

information about these, vivified by the touches of actuality which quotations from original documents always convey, her readers have no cause to be anything but grateful. Hunnis was one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, and so we are given much useful information about these minor functionaries. He was appointed under Edward VI., and we are therefore presented with a full and vivacious account of the situation on the King's death and the early days of Mary's reign. Hunnis was concerned in an abortive conspiracy in favour of Elizabeth, severely ignored or belittled by most historians, and so Mrs. Stopes atones for their deficiencies by an account of it, occupying some sixty pages, in which, it is only fair to say, she conveys the impression that Hunnis, amid the terrors of a Tudor examination for treason, bore himself with straightforwardness and pluck. Then we are told about his friend Nicholas Brigham, who built Chaucer a marble tomb in Westminster Abbey; then about Hunnis's relations with the Grocers' Company, his supervisorship of the Royal Gardens at Greenwich at a salary of 12d. a day, and his appointment in 1566 to succeed Richard Edwards as Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, the history of this office being traced from the reign of Edward IV., with a good deal of information about the successive holders of it. Two years later he obtained a grant of arms, which is made the occasion of another chapter, followed by one of four pages on the curious incident of his appointment by the Queen as Toll-taker on London Bridge, with the result, no doubt foreseen, that 'the summe of £40

in gratification of the Queen's Majesties Highness' letters in the favour of the said William Hunneys for a lease in reversion of the wheeling and passage of London Bridge by her Majestyes gift' was promptly voted by the Corporation to get quit of him. In 1576 Hunnis was concerned through his son Robin with the alleged poisoning of Essex by Leicester, Robin as a page to Essex having 'tasted' for him the poisoned wine and suffered an illness and the loss of his hair in consequence. After this Mrs. Stopes's narrative becomes more literary and perhaps on that account a little less entertaining, and we are given full details as to Hunnis's share in 'The Paradice of Dainty Devises' (of which, by the way, the British Museum now possesses an earlier edition than that of 1596, the only one known to Mrs. Stopes as on its shelves), his 'Hyve-full of Honey,' his minor poems, the earlier and later Chapel Revels, the festivities at Kenilworth (1575) in which he took part, and the plays which he is known to have written, but of which no copies can now be traced. Altogether Mrs. Stopes has brought together a surprising amount of information about the external facts of the life of Hunnis, and about 'his period.' As to 'the influences which affected Shakespeare,' also mentioned on her title-page, we cannot speak with so much confidence. Like the 'Shakespearian interest' with which so many miscellaneous books are now credited in sale-catalogues, they seem somewhat unimportant in comparison with so large a phrase. Mrs. Stopes's book is in no need of any such label.

The Frankfort Book Fair. The Francofordiense Emporium of Henri Estienne. Edited with historical introduction. Latin text with English translation on opposite pages and notes by James Westfall Thompson. The Caxton Club, Chicago. 1911.

Mr. Thompson has produced a careful translation of Henri Estienne's 'Francofordiense Emporium,' confronting it with the original, as every honest translator should do wherever considerations of size and cost permit, prefaced it with a lengthy introduction, printed it in a massive roman type designed by his fellow-clubman, Mr. R. F. Seymour, and illustrated it with a profusion of facsimiles for the most part only relevant to the text as being taken from books printed at Frankfort, but with one or two excellent maps. Estienne's Eulogy on the Frankfort Fair being more full of Renaissance rhetoric than of information, for the history of the fair we turn to Mr. Thompson's introduction, where we find facts in plenty. The writer would have done better if he had stuck closer to chronology instead of darting backwards and forwards so often from one century to another. In his review of fifteenth-century printing and publishing he has made one or two slips, notably when he quotes the sale in 1462 'by one man of 2 Bibles, 15 Psalters and 30 Cannon' as proof that the early printers 'had not confined their stock-in-trade to books,' whereas the reference is clearly to the Canon of the Mass printed by Fust and Schoeffer about 1458, of which a copy is at the Bodleian. But pretty well everything which one can desire to know about the

Frankfort Fair is here, and Mr. Thompson is fortunate in having turned his attention to so interesting a subject.

A. W. P.

Bibliography of Library Economy 1876-1909. *By H. G. T. Cannons. Stanley Russell & Co.* 1910. *pp.* 448.

Mr. Cannons has compiled a valuable work which may not inaptly be termed the Librarian's Cruden's Concordance. It is nothing less than a classified bibliography of all articles which have appeared in professional publications in the English language during 1876-1909. It contains 15,000 entries, arranged under 1,900 subject headings, and an alphabetical subject index of 2,500 direct references. The work is a veritable 'Where's Where' for librarians, and a godsend to all employed in libraries. Many will have reason to thank Mr. Cannons for being the means, through his book, of their finding anyone of the thousands of papers on library matters therein recorded. The only suggestions that we should like to make, should a second edition be called for, are (1) that the references should include the year as well as number or volume; (2) that the number of the volume be in roman numerals, which would also obviate the necessity for using brackets; (3) that complete books be included, such as Courtney's 'Register of National Bibliography,' and the lives of Panizzi

and Bradshaw; and (4) that biographical notices of librarians that have appeared in other than library journals or transactions be recorded. As examples of this last suggestion, we have in our mind the obituary notices in the 'Athenæum' of Mr. J. P. Edmond and Mr. A. R. Spoffard. A slight error occurs in the preface. Mr. H. M. Barlow, of the Library of the Royal College of Physicians, who is there referred to as a doctor, is not a medical man.

W. W.

Bibliotheca Celtica: a register of publications relating to Wales and the Celtic peoples and languages for the year 1909. *Aberystwyth, The National Library of Wales*, 1910. *pp. vi.*, 123.

The National Library of Wales has just issued, under the title of 'Bibliotheca Celtica,' a register for the year 1909 of publications relating to Wales and the Celtic peoples and languages. This volume is the first of a series to be continued annually. It extends to 123 pages, and contains particulars of books printed in Welsh, Irish and Scottish Gaelic, Breton, English, German, and French, and published in the British Isles, on the Continent, and in America. Of the publications catalogued about 370 are in the Welsh language. Most of the Continental publications included are works on Celtic philology, literature and history, and the works in the English language included deal mostly

with Welsh and Celtic subjects, but also comprise books by Welsh authors on other topics. The publications of Eisteddfodau and of other institutions of an academic character are included, and their distribution supplies interesting evidence of the pursuit of Welsh democratic culture wherever Welsh emigrants are found to have settled in any numbers. For instance, the Eisteddfodic section includes the publications of five American organisations, and of eight such institutions in England. The difficulty of collecting such material is undoubtedly very great, but an excellent start has been made. The collection of publications in the other Celtic languages must also be a matter of considerable difficulty, but we find here the beginning of a really great work, which some day will enable the student to obtain first-hand information of all the activities of the scattered members of what has been called the Celtic race. The work has been carefully done, and cannot fail to be of immense assistance to public libraries and private collectors. The fullest details available are given, and printed catalogue cards of the standard size can be supplied for all the entries in the volume.

Two technical points have interested us. The first is as to the size-notation, which is here given in millimetres; thus, the first entry ends: 'pp. 464. 172 x 112. Cloth, 7s. 6d.' Now to the ordinary reader of a catalogue '172 x 112' does not convey much meaning, but in this instance, facing the first page of text is a full-size facsimile of a scale, one side showing 7 inches, the other 178 mm. The notation is thus made not merely intelligible but

interesting. The other point is that both in this bibliography and in the Catalogue of the Barlow Dante collection noticed below the British Museum heading 'Academies' is adopted. It used to be said that no one but Panizzi would have introduced this heading into an English catalogue, and the remark is probably true; but it seems to be found a convenient one for all that.

Catalogue of the Dante collection in the library of University College, London. By R. W. Chambers. Oxford, printed for University College, London, by Horace Hart. 1910.

This catalogue records not only the collection bequeathed to University College by Henry Clark Barlow with an endowment for an annual course of lectures on the 'Divina Commedia,' but also from the Dante books in the libraries given by Prof. James Morris, F. D. Mocalta, and Dr. Whitley Stokes, together with some at present in the hands of a prospective benefactor. The name of Mr. R. W. Chambers, the librarian of University College, is an ample guarantee that on the scale and method on which it has been planned the catalogue is as good as could be desired. The absence of anything of the nature of subject-headings is the less to be regretted because of the bibliographical information about Dante obtainable elsewhere. The catalogue shows the existence at University College of a good working collection with a few rarities.

Third Series,
No. 7, Vol. II. July, 1911.

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THE LIBRARY.

THE BAKINGS OF BETSY.

THERE is, among the Lansdowne manuscripts at the British Museum, a folio volume of no great bulk, which, if we believe the story it tells, is perhaps the most pitiful of all monuments to the vanity of antiquarian endeavour. For it embraces, or at least purports to embrace, the entire remains of that extensive collection of the unprinted drama of the earlier seventeenth century brought together, or supposed to have been brought together, about a hundred years later by John Warburton, Somerset Herald, prefaced by a long list of the treasures that have perished. The story of that disaster is one of the best known of literary anecdotes: how the zealous antiquary laboriously gathered together this unique collection of pieces by Shakespeare and others; how he handed it over for safe custody to his cook, who made use of the precious leaves for some obscure process connected with her trade, and how the owner made no further inquiry on the subject till he had devoured all but three and a half out of a total of some fifty or sixty plays. The story has been told over and over again

with every kind of facetious adornment, till no history of literature is complete without it, and our national biography has to take serious account of the eccentric herald and his cook Elizabeth B.

I wish someone would tell me who invented Elizabeth B. I write of her in this perhaps unduly familiar manner because I have to confess that I do not know her name. The earliest authority on the subject that I have been able to discover is a certain Cuthbert Clutterbuck, who, in a letter dated Kennaquhair, 1 April 1822, tells how the 'Author of Waverley' found the privacy of his bedchamber invaded by a distressed female, who introduced herself as 'the spirit of . . . that unhappy Elizabeth or Betty Barnes, long cook-maid to Mr. Warburton, the painful collector, but ah! the too careless custodian, of the largest collection of ancient plays ever known.' The curious reader will find this letter printed at the beginning of Scott's 'Fortunes of Nigel,' but I fear he will find no further indication of the source of the story thus circumstantially given. The only other credible witness I have been able to discover is the 'Dictionary of National Biography,' and there, in the article on John Warburton, the name of his servant is given, not as Betty Barnes, but as Betsy Baker. Unfortunately again no authority is quoted, and I have diligently searched all the general references given at the end of the article without being able to obtain any light on the subject whatever. It only remains to point out that if the name Betsy Baker is correct, this play-burning cook was called by what has been almost a generic name

from the days of Langland to our own, and chose her parents with curiously prophetic insight.

Apart from this matter of the name the original source of the story seems to be Warburton's own memorandum appended to the list of the lost plays. Warburton was, perhaps not without cause, one of the most unpopular of men, and any joke at his expense was sure to be readily believed and widely circulated. One must be prepared for exaggerations: and, indeed, in 1891 a contributor to 'Notes and Queries' (Ser. 7, xii. 15), signing himself A. Hall, went so far as to ridicule the whole story. That any statement of the Somerset Herald should command implicit belief can, it is true, hardly be maintained; but in the present instance the information he gives is so little to his credit as an antiquary, that there is at least a strong presumption that he is telling the truth.

It will be well to give Warburton's list exactly as it stands, more particularly as none of the copies at present available are quite satisfactory. It was first printed, at a time when the manuscript was still in the possession of the first Marquis of Lansdowne, by Reed in his 'Variorum' Shakespeare of 1803 (ii. 371-2). The whole of his account, however, is very careless, and several titles are altogether omitted from the list. A much more accurate copy was contributed over the initials of J. Haslewood to Bridges' 'Censura Literaria' in 1807 (v. 273). After censuring both Reed and 'the second part of the Catalogue of the Lansdowne MSS.' for errors, he adds some interesting observations of his own. 'The writing,'

he says of the list, 'is in a very different hand from his [Warburton's], and did not the "many years collecting" imply their being obtained at various times, I should have supposed had been an index to them, made sixty years or more before his memorandum was written. The orthography is certainly of an earlier period than the strange diction of Warburton, which is not that of old spelling, but of false spelling.' He further appends extracts from the catalogue of Warburton's sale in Nov. 1759,[1] including, besides the Lansdowne volume, 'The Tyrant, a Tragedy. 4to,' which appears in the list, and 'Demetrius and Marina, or the Imperial Impostor and Unhappy Heroine, a Tragedy. Fol.,' which does not.

The Lansdowne Catalogue mentioned by Haslewood is the sale catalogue of April 1807,[2] and when he speaks of 'the Lansdowne MSS. No. 849,' he is referring to the number of the lot. This has caused some confusion, since of course by 'the second part of the Catalogue of the Lansdowne MSS.' one now understands the second volume of the Catalogue made after the collection had found a home in the British Museum, and published in 1819, in which the manuscript is numbered 807. The sale catalogue prints Warburton's list entire, and far more accurately than Reed. Haslewood indeed corrects some further errors (though in the

[1] I have been unable to find a copy of this.

[2] The sale, of course, never took place, the nation acquiring the collection *en bloc* for £4,925. I presume that the sale was first postponed pending negotiations, for the money was not paid till the October following.

particular point which he cites as evidence of inaccuracy in the Catalogue he is wrong) but he follows both his predecessors in the serious mistake of printing Warburton's memorandum at the end of the whole list, instead of at the end of the first page only.

In Sept. 1815, Frederick Thornhill reprinted Reed's list in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' (p. lxxxv. 217-22 and 424), with comments of his own, and corrections from a private transcript with which he had been favoured; but though this correspondent of the great Silvanus Urban had 'been informed' that the original document was now safely lodged at the British Museum, he apparently did not see the desirability of consulting it himself, and so robbed his communication of much of the value it might otherwise have possessed. In 1819 appeared the second part of the big British Museum Catalogue of Lansdowne Manuscripts, in which the list is printed with commendable though not quite consistent care, but in which Warburton's note is again misplaced. The list given by Fleay in his 'Life of Shakespeare' (1888) is less accurate than a comparison of accessible copies might have made it, even without recourse to the original.[1]

[1] Gifford, in the introduction to his edition of 'Massinger' in 1805, recounts the usual tale, and ends by giving the titles of the three survivors as mentioned by Reed. He adds: 'These, it is said, are now in the library of the marquis of Lansdowne, where they will, probably, remain in safety till moths, or damps, or fires mingle their "forgotten dust" with that of their late companions.' For this piece of impertinence he was not undeservedly rebuked by his reviewers, to whom he retorted in the preface to his second edition in 1813 with more spirit than discretion. Nevertheless in that edition the offending passage still stands, despite the fact that the manuscripts in question had in the interval passed into public custody!

The volume, as I have said, is now numbered 807 of the Lansdowne Manuscripts. It is a thin foolscap folio bound in russia. The end papers are modern. An original flyleaf is preserved, but not numbered; then comes a leaf with the Warburton and Shelburne book-plates on the verso, then Warburton's list, mounted and reckoned as folio 1. The plays follow: the 'Queen of Corinth' occupying folios 2-28, the 'Second Maiden's Tragedy' folios 29-56, the 'Bugbears' folios 57-77. At the end is an imperfect play in quarto occupying folios 78-88. It is a fragment of the 'Benefice' by R. Wild containing III. iv. to the end. That completes the collection as now extant. Here is the description of it as it is alleged to have once existed:

Manuscripts [*recto*

The Hon^{r}. Loves by Will. Rowley[1]
Henry ye 1st. by Will. Shakespear & Rob. Davenport
The fair favourit
Minervas Sacrifise Phill. Masenger
Duke Humphery Will. Shakespear
Citty Shuffler
S^{r}. Jo^{n}. Suckling's Workes
Nothing Imposeble to love T. C. Sr Rob. le Green
The forc'd Lady A T. Phill. Massinger
The Governer T. S^{r}. Corñ. Fermido
The Lovers of Loodgate
The Flying Voice by Ra. Wood

[1] The second word has been variously read as 'Hon^{r}.,' i.e. honourable, or 'Hon^{d}.,' i.e. honoured. The superior letter resembles a 'd,' but a comparison with other cases shows that 'r' is certainly intended.

The Mayden Holaday by Chriš. Marlowe
The Fatal Love
The Puritan Maid y^e. Modest Wife & y^e. Wanton Widow by Tho. Middleton
The London Marchat (sic) A Coñ. by Jo^n Ford.
The King of Swedland
Love hath found out his Eyes by Tho. Jorden
Antonio & Vallia by Phill. Massinger
The Dutches of Fernandina T. Hen. Glapthorn
Jocondo & Astolfo C. Thõ. Decker
S^t. Geõ. for England by Will. Smithe
The Parliam^t of Love by W^m. Rowley
The Widows Prise C. Wm Sampson
The Inconstant Lady W^m. (sic) Wilson
The Womans Plott Phill. Massinger
The [Marchants Sacrifice] Crafty Marchat (sic) C Shack. Marmio[n [1]
An Interlude by Ra. Wood worth Nothing
The Tyrant A Tragedy by Phill. Massenger
[The Yorkshire Gentlewoman & her Son T.] [2]
The None Such A C. W^m. Rowley
The Royal Combate A C. by Jo^n. Forde.
Philenzo & Hipolito A C. by Phill. Massenger
Beauty in a Trance A C. Jo^n. Forde.
The Judge A C. by Phill. Massenger.
A good beginning may have A good end by Jo^n. Ford
Fast and Welcome C. by Phill. Massinger [3]
Belive as yo^u. list C. by Phill. Massinger
His^t. of Jobe by Rob. Green
The Vestall A Tragedy by H. Glapthorn
The Noble Tryall. T. H. Glapthorn

[1] The title first written has been crossed out: the name is crowded in and the end is no longer visible.

[2] This entry is crossed out.

[3] The 'C.' standing for Comedy, is interlined.

After I had been many years Collecting
these MSS Playes, through my own
carelesness and the Ignorace (sic) of my S[er[1]
in whose hands I had lodgd them they
was unluckely burnd or put under
Pye bottoms, excepting y^e^ three which followes.

J. W.

Manuscripts [*verso*

Yorkshire Gentlewoman and her Son T
The Hon^r^. of Women A C. by Massinger
Alexias or y^e^ chast Glallant (sic) T. P Massinger
The vestal a Tragedy H. Glapthorn[2]
The Noble choise T.C. P. Massinger
A Mask R. Govell
2^d^. p^t^. Maidens Tra$\tilde{g}$. Geo. Chapman
The Great Man T.
The Spanish Purchas C.
The Queen of Corsica T. by F. Jaques
The Trag^d^. of Jobe Good
The Nobleman T.C. Cyrill Turñuer
A Play by Will Shakespear
Bugbear C. Jo^n^. Geffrey
Orpheus C.
Tis Good Sleeping in A Whole Skin W. Wager
Farry (sic) Queen[3]

There was a time when I entertained serious doubts as to the genuineness of a material part of

[1] The catalogue gives the letters 'Ser,' but only the first is now clearly legible. The edge is frayed, but there can never have been room for the full word.

[2] The 'H.' has been altered.

[3] The second 'r' of 'Farry' has been altered, but there does not seem any doubt as to the reading.

Warburton's alleged memorandum, for I could not find it in the manuscript itself. The volume in question has been repaired at some comparatively recent date, and a list of plays mounted on a guard. Now if the slip on which the list of supposed manuscripts is written be carefully examined, it will be observed that the end of the memorandum as printed above is wanting, and there are indications that suggest, what is indeed the case, that the slip can never have contained more writing than now appears. It was, therefore, very difficult to account for the entry in the catalogue. One day, however, I observed that at some period the slip had been fastened down to the original flyleaf by means of wafers. This fact, which I might indeed have learned from the Catalogue or from Haslewood, gave the clue to the mystery. For on a closer inspection I discovered that Warburton's writing had run off the slip on to the leaf to which it was attached, and there the end of the memorandum, though very faint, may still be traced. A careless binder had almost destroyed the evidence of the nefarious Betsy's crime!

So far then the document bears examination. I should further say that after comparing several letters of Warburton's written between 1750 and 1760 preserved in the British Museum, I see no reason to question the authenticity of the note, nor, in spite of obvious differences in the writing, to deny that the list itself may likewise be in his handwriting. To the point raised by Haslewood as to the archaic spelling of the list there is an obvious reply—namely, that the titles are of course

copies; and I would call attention to one small point in favour of their having been written by Warburton. For in the note he has accidently left out the second 'n' in 'Ignorance,' while in the list we twice find 'Marchat' for 'Marchant.' There remain, however, plenty of difficulties in connection with this list. It is written on the two sides of a long narrow slip of paper. At the head of each page is the word 'Manuscripts,' but the list fills neither page. On the recto, however, the titles came down to within a few inches of the foot, leaving only a small space in which the note has been subsequently inserted. On the verso they fill less than half the page. The presence of the note has been taken to imply that the list must have been written out from memory. This may, I think, be at once dismissed as improbable. A man so little careful of his manuscripts as to leave them long unsought in the care of his servant, could never have sat down and written out a list of fifty or sixty titles and authors from memory. Moreover, the note is written in a different style and ink from the list, even supposing the hand to be the same. We shall, therefore, be justified in assuming that the list was among the papers rescued, and that it consequently dates from many years before the note. It may, in that case, have been compiled from the actual manuscripts enumerated, though there is nothing to prove that it was. It should be noticed that it is not quite clear whether the memorandum is intended to apply to the plays on both sides of the paper, or only to the list at the foot of which it stands. Nor does it appear

what the relation of the two lists is. Is that on the verso a mere continuation of the other? If so, why was the verso used when there was still room on the recto? Moreover, the 'Vestal' appears in both lists, and so does the 'Yorkshire Gentlewoman,' though this is struck out again on the recto. The 'History' and the 'Tragedy of Job' are also very likely the same. Are these mere oversights? After it had lain hid for many years did Warburton himself remember accurately the significance of the list? That he owned some of the plays in it we know, that others perished seems likely, but was there really the wholesale slaughter that the collector in his disappointment would have us believe? This is a question that probably can never be answered for certain, but it may be that a closer examination will at least suggest a possible solution. The investigation will take us rather far afield, but I hope that it may repay us for our wanderings by the light incidentally thrown on the bibliography of the seventeenth century drama in general.

The dislocation of our knowledge of the English book trade that occurs about the year 1640 is eloquent of the debt we owe to Professor Arber for his transcript of the Stationers' Register, but is not in itself a good thing, and it is with keen anticipation that many students look forward to the now promised continuation of that great work. Our present ignorance is rather specially unfortunate in the case of the drama, since not only do the entries of individual plays continue, but there also

occur from time to time entries of whole batches of plays, mostly old ones, evidently made with a view to extensive publishing ventures consequent upon the closing of the theatres during the Civil War and under the Commonwealth. These entries, though neglected by recent critics, were utilized by some of the earlier biographers of the English stage, and many references will be found in the 'Biographia Dramatica' of 1812. From these scattered notes Fleay reconstructed the entries of 1653 and 1660 in his 'Life of Shakespeare' (1880), and these lists, though inaccurate, have up to the present been by far the best at the disposal of students. They possess additional value through being printed in parallel columns with that of Warburton's alleged collection.

I propose in this place to print in full some of the chief play-entries from the later volumes of the Stationers' Register. Of these the above-mentioned entries of 1653 and 1660 form perhaps the most important, for the reason that they were largely inoperative, and therefore preserve for us the titles of many plays which are not now discoverable. The real nature of the entry belonging to 1646 does not seem to have been previously recorded, and I have on my conscience a statement to the effect that the publishers of the Beaumont and Fletcher folio of the following year dispensed with the formality of entry. This is now seen to be incorrect. Fleay, however, only mentions four plays under this date, and it was a remark by the anonymous editor of Wilson's 'Inconstant Lady,' printed in 1814, to the effect

that the entry contained forty-eight plays, that first long ago suggested further search. By a lucky chance my friend Mr. Plomer happened at the time to be consulting the later Registers for other purposes, and kindly undertook to transcribe for me the entries now printed here.[1]

A.

4°. Sept. [1646] . . . Liber E, p. 53.

Entred for their Copies vnder the hands of mr Langley & mr whitaker warden these Seu'all Tragedies & Comedies herevnder menc̃oned (vizt.) [(Saluo iure cuiuscumq;)][2] xxiiij^{s}. Mr. Robinson & Mr. Mozely

*Mad Lover	by mr Beamont & mr Flesher
Wild goose chase	
Litle french Lawyer	
Loyall Subiect	
Spanish Curate	
Custome of ye Country	
Double Marriage	
wife for a Month	
Island Princes	
Pilgrime *The Lawes of Candy	
Womans prize or the Tamer tam'd	
Knights of Malta	
The Captaine	
The Noble Enemie or the humerous Leiftenant	
*The Woemen pleased	
Bonducca or Bo̅adicea	
[Mounsieur Perrollis][2] *mistaken	
Chaunces	

[1] In the 1646 entry there are certain additions in a different hand. These are distinguished by an asterisk prefixed.

[2] These words in brackets are crossed out in the original.

*The Sea Voyage
Maid of the Mill
Queene of Corinth
Coxecombe
Noble gentleman
Beggars Bush
Honest mans fortune
Martiall Maid
The Emperor Valentinian
The Prophetesse
The Lovers pilgrimage
The Lovers progresse

Love & honor } by Sr Wm. Davenant
Distresses }
Fair Favourite } By Sr. Wm. Davenant
Mr. Robinson & Mr. Mozeley. Newes from Plymouth
Country Captaine } by my Lord of Newcastle
Varieties }
Doubtfull heire }
Imposture }
Brothers } by Mr Shirley
Cardinall }
The Sisters }
Maior of Quinborough
The passionate Lover } *1st. & 2d. parts
Spartan Ladies } by Mr Carlile
Switzer } by Mr Wilson
The Corporal }
The princes by Mr Killegrew
The fatall friendship by mr Burroughes

A few notes may serve to make the bearing of these entries clear. The first thirty plays will at once be recognised as constituting the entry for the folio of 'Comedies and Tragedies Written by

Francis Beaumont And John Fletcher Gentlemen. Never printed before, And now published by the Authors Originall Copies' printed for Robinson & Moseley in 1647. That volume, however, if we include in it the *Wild Goose Chase*, published as a supplement in 1652 and entered second on the above list, contained thirty-six pieces, none of which had been previously entered or printed. The omission of six plays does not appear to have been discovered at the time, but, as will be seen from a subsequent list (C), the missing titles were duly entered to the same stationers on 29 June 1660, perhaps in anticipation of the new and enlarged edition, which, however, did not appear till 1679, and was then published by Martyn, Herringman and Marriot. The alternative title of the 'Humorous Lieutenant' looks as though there had been more than one MS., for no trace of the 'Noble Enemy' is found in the folio text. I am unable to guess what 'Mounsieur Perrollis' can be.

Of Davenant's plays, 'Love and Honour' was printed in 1649, while the other three first appeared in the folio published by Herringman in 1673. The five plays by Shirley were published, together with the 'Court Secret,' in the 'Six New Plays' of 1653. The 'Mayor of Quinboro'' first appeared, published by Herringman, in 1661, with a title-page ascribing it to Middleton. The two parts of Carlell's 'Passionate Lovers' were printed in 1655, but the 'Spartan Ladies' is not known, though it was advertised by Moseley along with the 'Discrete Lover' and 'Osman' among 'Books I do purpose to Print very speedtly (sic)' in a

catalogue found at the end of some copies of Middleton's 'Two New Plays' of 1657.[1] Wilson's 'Switzer' is extant in manuscript (BM. Add. 36759), and has been edited by Professor Feuillerat; while of the 'Corporal' unfortunately nothing but a list of dramatis personae remains (Bodl. MS. Rawl. Poet. 9). The 'Princess,' by Thomas Killigrew, was included in the collected folio of his plays published by Herringman in 1664. Neither of the 'Fatal Friendship' nor of Mr. Burroughes does anything further appear to be known. A tragedy bearing the same title was later written by Catherine Trotter and printed in 1698.

B.

Liber E. p. 285. r. Mosely.

September. y^e. 9th: 1653. . . .

Entred also for his Copies the severall Playes following. xx[j]^s. vj^d.[2]

[1] As pointed out by Baker ('Comp. to the Playhouse,' 1764). The only copy that I have seen which has the catalogue is that at Trinity College, Cambridge. The catalogue is in two quires, a^8 b^2. Later the two leaves of b were cancelled, and a full sheet, B^8, appended to the remaining copies of a. I have a copy of the catalogue in this form at the end of Massinger's 'Three New Plays' of 1655. In this among the 'Books lately Printed' appear Carlell's 'Discrete Lover' and 'Osmond.' The 'Spartan Ladies' has vanished, but its place is taken by the 'Deserving Favourite.' This was an old play printed as early as 1629, of which Mosely issued an edition in 1659. I suspect that the 'Spartan Ladies' was the title borne by another manuscript of this play. The name would be appropriate enough to the ladies who resolve to die with their lover and brother, while there are points which would even make Sparta not unsuitable as the scene of the action.

[2] It should be noticed that the sum has been altered from 21*s.* 6*d.* to 20*s.* 6*d.* This brings it right for forty-one plays. 'Henry I & Henry II' is counted as one piece.

The Widdowes Prize. by Mr. Wm. Samson
Witt in Madnesse
The Louesick Maid, or the honour of Young Ladies. by } Rich: Brome.
The Discreet Louer, or The Foole would bee a Fauourite. by
Osman, the Great Turke, or The Noble seruant. both by } Lod: Carlel.
The Countrey man.
The Siege. by Wm: Dauenant
The Iew of Venice, by Tho: Decker.
The Woman's mistaken. by. Drew, & Dauenport.
The History of Cardennio, by Mr. Fletcher. & Shakespeare.
The Gouernour. by Sr. Cornelius Formido.
The Kings Mistresse
Beauty in a Trance. by Mr. Inº. Ford.
More Dissemblers besides Women.
A right Woman, or Women beware of Women.
No Witt, no helpe like a Woman
The Puritan Maid, modest Wife & Wanton Widdow. by. } Mr. Tho: Midleton.
The Noble Choice, or ye Oratr
The Wandring Louers, or ye Painter
The Italian Night peece, or The Vnfortunate, Piety
Alexius the Chast Gallant or. The Bashfull Lover.
A very Woman, or ye Womans Plot.
The Iudge, or Beleiue, as you list
The Prisoner, or ye Faire Anchoress
The Citie honest man, or ye Guardian
The Spānish Vice Roy, or ye Honr: of Women.
Minerva's Sacrifice, or ye Forc'd Lady } By Phill: Massinger.

p. 286. more to Mr. Mosely

The Maid's Tragedie. 2d. part
The Crafty Merchant. or the Souldred Citizen } by Shakerly Marmion.
The Politique Bankrupt, or which is ye. Best Girle. }
The Foole without Booke. } by Wm: Rowley.
A Knaue in Print, or One for another. }
The Polititian, by Iames Shirley.
The spānish Duke of Lerma. }
The Duke of Guize } by Henry Shirley.
The Dumbe Bawde & Giraldo, ye Constant Lover }
The merry Deuill of Edmonton. by Wm: Shakespeare.
Henry ye. first, & Hen: ye 2d. by Shakespeare, & Dauenport.
The Nobleman, or Great man. by Cyrill Tourneur.
The Inconstant Lady by Mr. Arth. Wilson.

C.

[29 Iune 1660.]

Liber F. p. 193.

Mr. Hum: Robinson & Mr. Hum: Moseley. Entred for their Copies (under the hand of Mr Thrale Warden) these severall Plays following. vizt

The false one.
The Nice Valour or the passionate Madman.
Witt at severall Weapons.
The Faire Maid of the Inne.
A Maske of the Gentlemen of Graies Inne and the Inner Temple at ye marriage of the Prince and Princesse Palatine of the Rhene. } iij s
Foure Plays or morall Representations in one. all Six Copies written by Fra: Beamont & Iohn Fletcher.

D.

The 29th of Iune 1660.

Liber F. p. 196.

Entred for his Copies (vnder the hand of Mr Thrale Warden) the severall Plays following. That is to say Mr. Hum: Moseley.

The Faithfull Friend a Comedy. } by Francis Beamont
A right Woman. a Comedy. } & Iohn Fletcher
The History of Madon King of Brittain by F: Beamont.
The Womans Plott. a Comedy.
The Prisoners. a Tragi Comedy.
The Honour of Women. a Comedy.
Beleive as you list. a Tragedy
The forced Lady. a Tragedy.
The Tyrant. a Tragedy. } by Phillip Massinger.
The Bashfull Lovers.
The Gardian.
Philenzo & Hypollita. a Tragi Comedy.
Antonio & Vallia. a Comedy.
Fast & Welcome. a Comedy.
The History of King Stephen.
Duke Humphrey. a Tragedy.
Iphis & Iantha Or a marriage without a man. a Comedy. } by Will: Shakspeare.
The Vestall. a Tragedy.
The noble Triall. a Tragi Comedy. } by Hen: Glapthorne.
The Dutchess of Fernandina a Tragedy. }
The Sodered Citizen. a Comedy. by Shakerley Marmion.
The Fatall Love. a French Tragedy. } By Geo: Chapman.
A Tragedy of a Yorkshire Gentlewoman and her sonne }
The Royall Combate. a Comedy.
An ill beginning has a good end, & a bad beginning may have a good end. a Comedy } by Iohn Forde.
The London Merchant. a Comedy.

(This page is bracketed and summed 'xiij s.')

p. 197. The 29th of Iune 1660.

Mr. Hum: Moseley. Entred for his Copies (vnder ye hand of Mr Thrale Warden) the severall Plays following. That is to say

The None such. a Comedy.
The booke of ye 4. Honble. Loves. a Comedy.
The Parliament of Love.
} by Willm Rowley.

Gustavus King of Swethland.
The Tale of Ioconda and Astolso. a Comedy.
} by Tho: Decker.

The fatall Brothers. a Tragedy.
The Politick Queen. Or murther will out.
} by Robt. Davenport

Nothing impossible to Love. a Tragi Comedy by Sr Robt. Le Greece

The Prodigall Scholar. a Comedy. by Tho: Randall.

The Christmas Ordinary. a Comedy by Trinity Coll. Oxford

Love hath found his Eyes. by Thomas Jordan.

(This page is bracketed and summed 'vs. vjd.')

It will, of course, be noticed that there are a number of titles common to the lists of 1653 and 1660, and we cannot do better than, with the full copies of Moseley's entries and Warburton's catalogue before us, to reconstruct the parallel table given by Fleay. The entry of the six plays by Beaumont and Fletcher has already been mentioned above, and need not occupy us further.

Nine plays are common to the two entries, and of these six occur in Warburton's list:

1653		1660		Warburton	
1. Alexis the Chaste Gallant, or the Bashful Lover.	Massinger.	The Bashful Lover.	Massinger.	Alexies or the Chaste Gallant.	Massinger.
2. A Very Woman, or the Woman's Plot.	Massinger.	The Woman's Plot. C.	Massinger.	The Woman's Plot.	Massinger.
3. The Judge, or Believe as you list.	Massinger.	Believe as you list. T.	Massinger.	Believe as you list. C. The Judge. C.	Massinger. Massinger.
4. The Spanish Viceroy, or the Honour of Women.	Massinger.	The Honour of Women. C.	Massinger.	The Honour of Women. C.	Massinger.
5. Minerva's Sacrifice, or the Forced Lady.	Massinger.	The Forced Lady. T.	Massinger.	Minerva's Sacrifice. The Forced Lady. T.	Massinger. Massinger.
6. The Crafty Merchant, or the Soldered Citizen.	Marmion.	The Sodered Citizen. C.	Marmion.	The Crafty Merchant.	Marmion.
7. A right Woman, or Women beware Women.	Middleton.	A right Woman. C.	B. & F.		
8. The Prisoner, or the Fair Anchoress.	Massinger.	The Prisoners. T-C.	Massinger.		
9. The City Honest Man, or the Guardian.	Massinger.	The Guardian.	Massinger.		

Nine titles are common to the 1653 entry and Warburton's list:

1653.		Warburton.	
10. The Widow's Prize.	Samson.	The Widow's Prize. C.	Sampson.
11. The Governor.	Formido.	The Governor. T.	Formido.
12. Beauty in a Trance.	Ford.	Beauty in a Trance. C.	Ford.
13. The Puritan Maid, Modest Wife and Wanton Widow.	Middleton.	The Puritan Maid, the Modest Wife, and the Wanton Widow.	Middleton.
14. The Noble Choice, or the Orator.	Massinger.	The Noble Choice. T-C.	Massinger.
15. The Maid's Tragedy, 2nd Part.		Second Part Maiden's Tragedy.	Chapman.
16. Henry I and Henry II.	Shakespeare & Davenport.	Henry I.	Shakespeare & Davenport.
17. The Inconstant Lady.	A. Wilson.	The Inconstant Lady.	W. Wilson.
18. The Nobleman, or Great Man.	Tourneur.	The Nobleman. T-C. / The Great Man. T.	Tourneur.

Twenty titles are common to the 1660 entry and Warburton's list:

1660.		Warburton.	
19. The Tyrant. T.	Massinger.	The Tyrant. T.	Massinger.
20. Philenzo and Hypollita. T-C.	Massinger.	Philenzo and Hippolito. C.	Massinger.
21. Antonio and Vallia. C.	Massinger.	Antonio and Vallia.	Massinger.
22. Fast and Welcome. C.	Massinger.	Fast and Welcome. C.	Massinger.
23. Duke Humphrey. T.	Shakespeare.	Duke Humphrey. T.	Shakespeare.
24. The Vestal. T.	Glapthorne.	The Vestal. T.	Glapthorne.
25. The Noble Trial. T-C.	Glapthorne.	The Noble Trial. T.	Glapthorne.
26. The Duchess of Fernandina. T.	Glapthorne.	The Duchess of Fernandina. T.	Glapthorne.
27. The Fatal Love. T.	Chapman.	The Fatal Love.	
28. A Yorkshire Gentlewoman & her Son. T.	Chapman.	A Yorkshire Gentlewoman & her Son. (T.)	

29. The Royal Combat. C.	Ford.
30. An ill beginning has a good end, & a bad beginning may have a good end. C.	Ford.
31. The London Merchant. C.	Ford.
32. The Nonesuch. C.	Rowley.
33. The Four Honourable Loves. C.	Rowley.
34. The Parliament of Love.	Rowley.
35. Gustavus, King of Swethland.	Dekker.
36. Joconda & Astolso. C.	Dekker.
37. Nothing impossible to Love. T-C.	Le Greece.
38. Love hath found his Eyes.	Jordan.

The Royal Combat. C.	Ford.
A good beginning may have a good end.	Ford.
The London Merchant. C.	Ford.
The Nonesuch. C.	Rowley.
The Honourable Loves.	Rowley.
The Parliament of Love.	Rowley.
The King of Swedland.	
Jocondo & Astolfo. C.	Dekker.
Nothing impossible to Love. T-C.	le Green.
Love hath found out his Eyes.	Jordan.

Twenty-three titles occur in the 1653 entry only:

39. Wit in Madness.	Brome.
40. Love-sick Maid, or the honour of Young Ladies.	Brome.
41. The Discrete Lover, or the Fool would be a Favourite.	Carlell.
42. Osman the Great Turk, or the Noble Servant.	Carlell.
43. The Country Man.	
44. The Siege.	Davenant.
45. The Jew of Venice.	Dekker.
46. The Woman's Mistaken.	Drue & Davenport.
47. The History of Cardenio.	Fletcher & Shakespeare.
48. The King's Mistress.	
49. More Dissemblers besides Women.	Middleton.
50. No Wit, no Help like a Woman.	Middleton.
51. The Wandering Lovers, or the Painter.	Massinger.
52. The Italian Night Piece, or the Unfortunate Piety.	Massinger.
53. The Politic Bankrupt, or Which is the best Girl.	
54. The Fool without Book.	Rowley.
55. A Knave in Print, or One for Another.	Rowley.
56. The Polititian.	J. Shirley.
57. The Spanish Duke of Lerma.	H. Shirley.
58. The Duke of Guise.	H. Shirley.
59. The Dumb Bawd.	H. Shirley.
60. Giraldo, the Constant Lover.	H. Shirley.
61. The Merry Devil of Edmonton.	Shakespeare.

Eight titles occur in the 1660 entry only:

62. The Faithful Friend. C. Beaumont & Fletcher.
63. The History of Madan, King of Brittain. Beaumont.
64. The History of King Stephen. Shakespeare.
65. Iphis & Iantha, or a Marriage without a Man. Shakespeare.
66. The Fatal Brothers. T. Davenport.
67. The Politic Queen, or Murder will out. Davenport.
68. The Prodigal Scholar. C. Randall.
69. The Christmas Ordinary. C. Trin. Coll. Oxon.

Lastly, there are eighteen items which appear in Warburton's list alone

70. The Bugbears. C. J. Geffrey.
71. A mask. R. Govell.
72. The History of Job. R. Green.
73. Tragedy of Job.
74. The Queen of Corsica. T. F. Jacques.
75. The Maiden's Holiday. Marlowe.
76. A play. Shakespeare.
77. St. George for England. Wil. Smith.
78. Works. Suckling.
79. 'Tis good sleeping in a whole skin. W. Wager.
80. An interlude. R. Wood.
81. The Flying Voice. R. Wood.
82. The City Shuffler.
83. The Fair Favourite.
84. The Fairy Queen.
85. The Lovers of Ludgate.
86. Orpheus. C.
87. The Spanish Purchas.

Many of these pieces are not otherwise known: this is the case with nos. 12, 13, 22-9, 32, 35, 36, 38, 43, 46, 48, 53-5, 57-60, 62, 64-8, 72, 78, 80-2, 85, 86, 88. Concerning the rest brief notes may be desirable. I have mainly followed the references given by Fleay.

1. The 'Bashful Lover' was licensed by Herbert 9 May 1636, and printed in 1655 together with nos. 2 and 9. 'Alexius, or the Chaste Lover,' was licensed 25 Sept. 1639. There is extant in the Bodleian (MS. Donce 171, fol. 48^b) a fragment of an English comedy on the loves of Alice and Alexis. It is described as the author's draft, extending as far as III. i, but with an argument of the whole, and as belonging to the early seventeenth century. I have not seen it. Alexis was, of course, a very common name in fiction.

2. 'A Very Woman' was licensed 6 June 1634, and printed as above. The 'Woman's Plot' was acted at Court in 1621 (a statement, however, for which there seems no better authority than Reed, 'Biog. Dram.' 1782).

3. The 'Judge' was licensed 6 June 1627. 'Believe as you list' was licensed 7 May 1631, apparently as reformed from an earlier piece to which licence had on political grounds been refused on 11 Jan., and the manuscript is preserved (B.M. Egerton 2828).

4. The 'Honour of Women' was licensed 6 May 1628. The 'Spanish Viceroy' was admitted by the King's players, 20 Dec. 1624, to have been performed by them without licence.

5. 'Minerva's Sacrifice' was licensed 3 Nov. 1629.

6. The 'Cra[fty] Merchant, or Come to my Country House,' by William Bonen, was licensed 12 Sept. 1623.

7. Printed with Middleton's name in 1657, together with no. 49.

8. The 'Fair Anchoress of Pausilippo' was licensed 26 Jan. 1640. The 'Prisoners' was properly the title of a play by T. Killigrew printed in 1664.

9. The 'Guardian' was licensed 31 Oct. 1633, and printed with Nos. 1 and 2 as above.

10. Said on doubtful authority (Halliwell's 'Dictionary') to have been licensed 25 Jan. 1625.

11. Extant in the British Museum (Add. 10419). The manuscript, dated 1656, was purchased at the Heber sale, and bears the inscription, 'This Play formerly belonged to John Warburton, Somerset Herald.'

14. The 'Orator' was licensed 10 Jan. 1635.

15. One of the plays preserved from Warburton's collection. It bears Buc's licence dated 31 Oct. 1611.

16. Licensed as by 'Damport,' 10 Apr. 1624 (Malone, 1794, ii. 189).

17. By Arthur Wilson: preserved in a manuscript in the Bodleian (Rawl. Poet. 9A).

18. The 'Nobleman,' by Tourneur, was entered in the Stationers' Register 15 Feb. 1612, and acted at court 23 Feb. following, and again in 1612/13.

19. This play, a manuscript in quarto, was in Warburton's sale in Nov. 1759.

20. A 'Philipo and Hippolito' was a new play of the Admiral's Men, 9 July 1594, and a 'Julio and Hyppolita' is in the German collection of 1620. A manuscript is said by Collier ('Henslowe,' xxxi) to be among the Conway papers.

21. 'Antony and Valia' was a play of the Admiral's Men in 1595. A manuscript (of the second half of the seventeenth century) with Antonio of Ragusa as a character is in the Bodleian (Rawl. Poet. 93), but the chief characters are said to be Octavio and Alessandra.

30. 'A bad beginning makes a good ending' was acted at court by the King's men in 1612/13.

31. This is the name of the play disturbed by the Citizen in the 'Knight of the Burning Pestle.'

33. 'Die 4 bestendigen Liebhabers' was a play of English origin current in Germany (Mecklenburg) c. 1660 (Herz 68).

34. Licensed as Massinger's 3 Nov. 1624: the manuscript (imperfect) is preserved (Dyce, MS. 39).

39. 'Wit in a Madness' had been previously entered, together with the 'Sparagus Garden' and the 'Antipodes,' 19 Mar. 1640.

40. Licensed in Feb. 1629, and acted at court the same year.

41-2. Printed together in 1657.

44. Printed in the folio of 1673.

45. There is extant in manuscript a German play, 'Josephus, Jude von Venedig,' which is no doubt in some way related.

47. 'Cardenna' was acted 8 June 1613, 'Cardenno' at court in 1612/13.

49. Printed in 1657 with no. 7.

50. Printed in 1657.

51. The 'Wandring Lovers' was licensed as Fletcher's, 6 Dec. 1623.

52. The 'Unfortunate Piety' was licensed 13 June 1631.

56. Printed in 1655.

61. Entered 22 Oct. 1607 and printed four times before Moseley's entry, while even the edition of 1655 was not issued by him, but by W. Gilbertson.

62. The 'Faithful Friends' is preserved in manuscript (Dyce, MS. 10).

68. Presumably Thomas Randolph is the author intended: nothing is known of the play.

69. Printed, as by 'W. R. Master of Arts,' in 1682.

70. The 'Bugbears,' one of the rescued manuscripts. At the end is the inscription, 'Iohannus (sic) Jeffere scribebat hoc,' but he may have been only the scribe, or one of them, for the manuscript is in several hands.

71. There seems to be no other mention of this writer.

72-3. These are presumably the same. The play was not entered in 1594 as stated by Stephen Jones ('Biog. Dram.' 1812), so that Warburton remains our sole authority. Therefore 'Rob. Green' is very likely the same as 'Sr. Rob. le Green,' i.e. Le Grys (cf. no. 37). There was a piece called 'Job's Afflictions,' written by R. Radcliffe in the first half of the sixteenth century.

74. One of the rescued plays.

75. Entered as by Marlowe and Day, 8 Apr. 1654.

76. Most likely one of the plays mentioned in the other lists: either 47, 64, or 65.

78. Suckling's 'Fragmenta Aurea' had been various times printed, but other matter was left in manuscript till the 'Last Remains' of 1659. After that there was more than one complete edition.

80-1. Of Ralph Wood nothing more seems to be known.

82. The 'City Shuffler' was acted at Salisbury Court and stayed by Herbert in Oct. 1633 (Collier, 1831, ii. 54).

83. By Davenant, licensed 17 Nov. 1638, and printed in the folio of 1673.

86. A fragment is said by Reed ('Biog. Dram.' 1782) to be in the British Museum, but I have been unable to find it.

Now anyone who studies the above lists with care will find ample food for reflection. For my own part I feel it extremely difficult to make up my mind as to whether Moseley was a knave or Warburton a liar. Each alternative is intrinsically probable, and yet there seems hardly evidence enough to substantiate both charges. Could we indeed call general evidence of character, it might not be hard to do so, but we must stick to the case before us.

It is chiefly the alternative titles in Moseley's 1653 entry that excite suspicion against him, for in several cases there is independent evidence which suggests that the alternative titles really belonged to different plays. The implication, of course, would be that Moseley was trying to smuggle through two plays for a single fee. In three cases Warburton enters, as belonging to separate plays, titles given Moseley as alternative. This, as we shall see when we come to cross-examine Warburton, is not very serious, but there is better evidence to follow. The first four plays of 1653 are each entered with double titles, and in every case each title is known separately from Herbert's accounts. Moreover in the case of several plays which are extant there is nothing to suggest the alternative title at all. The 'Very Woman' contains no woman's plot; 'Believe as you list' contains no judge; the 'Guardian' deals with the court and not the city. The 'Great Man,' too, seems a foolish second-title to the 'Nobleman.' It might be suggested that Moseley meant each as an alternative entry, leaving himself the option of publishing either play. This, however, seems very unlikely, and there is no evidence that the Stationers' Company would ever have sanctioned such a proceeding. Moreover, 'Henry I and Henry II' is clearly entered as one play, though such a title is almost incredible. In no less than nine cases plays entered under double titles in 1653 were re-entered under one title only in 1660. This almost forces us to the belief that not nine but eighteen plays were really involved, whether we suppose

that Moseley discovered his mistake and rectified it of his own accord, or that the Company discovered it and forced him to do so.

There is something to be said in Moseley's favour. The fraud supposed would have been a dangerous one to practice, for had the Company discovered it, it is unlikely that they would have been satisfied with mere re-entry. Moreover in two cases (1 and 9) the title re-entered in 1660 is that under which Moseley had himself published in play in the interval. This looks like mere blundering. A solution is perhaps suggested by the case of the 'Spanish Viceroy,' for it will be observed that there is nothing to prevent our supposing that the play acted without licence in 1624 was subsequently revised and licensed under another title in 1628. Even though we may not be inclined to follow Fleay in all his hazardous identifications, it still seems probable that a great deal of revision and re-writing did take place in the Massinger plays, and it is conceivable that this may account in part at least for the difficulties noticed. Even in the case of 'Believe as you list' it may be submitted that the political events upon which the plot was based were not recent, that a play presumably founded upon them is recorded by Henslowe as early as 1601, and that there is no gross improbability in supposing that Herbert licensed in 1627 a play substantially the same as another which he refused in January 1631, when the peace with Spain was a tender babe of a few months only. It is more than probable, therefore, that divergent versions of certain plays existed under different

titles. If then it be supposed that the manuscripts in Moseley's hands bore both titles, or that he was aware of the double nature of the plays he hoped to secure, and also that the duplicate entries of 1660 may be explained as mere oversights, it may not be impossible to account for the puzzles of the entries in the Registers. That grave difficulties do not remain, in view of the apparent irreconcilability of the alleged duplicate titles of extant pieces, cannot be contended, but I must content myself with suggesting possibilities in a case in which I have admittedly no satisfactory theory to offer my readers.

Should it have chanced that Moseley acted honestly in the matter, and that his entries are correct, it follows, of course, that the authenticity of Warburton's list must go by the board. For the close agreement between that list and the entries has been generally and necessarily held to indicate that Moseley's collection must have formed the bulk of Warburton's, and probably came into his hands *en bloc*. If then Moseley's alternative titles are genuine, how comes it that in three cases Warburton has made separate plays of them? We are at once confronted with the question: Is Warburton's list what it purports to be, a genuine catalogue of a collection of manuscript plays, or is it a fabrication from various sources? And it becomes at this point important to know whether Warburton was acquainted with the Stationers' Registers or not. There is definite evidence that he was. For one of his plays which has survived is headed the 'The Second Maiden's Tragedy.'

The heading is late, and has been borrowed from Buc's license of 31 Oct. 1611, at the end: 'This second maydens tragedy (for it hath no name inscribed) may wth the reformations bee acted publikely.' This is almost certainly the play entered as 'The Maid's Tragedie. 2^d^. part,' in 1653, and there surely can be little doubt that Warburton had this entry as well as the manuscript play before him when he entered the latter in his own list as '2^d^. p^t^. Maidens Trag̃.' Warburton thus knew a source which would account for perhaps three quarters of his own list. We must therefore scrutinize his evidence somewhat closer. If his complete collection came originally from Moseley, it could hardly be, as he represents it the result of many years' collecting; it must have come *en bloc*. There is, however, the possibility that he added to it from other sources, so that this point should not be pressed. The entries of 1653 and 1660 account for thirty-eight out of a total of fifty-six items in the list, so that only eighteen remain. Two are entered under other dates. One, 'A Play by Will Shakespear,' is also probably one of those entered. One is known from Herbert's licenses. Suckling's Works imply no special knowledge. The two 'Jobs' are most likely identical. There remain twelve which we can only account for as representing actual manuscripts. Two of these manuscripts actually exist in the Lansdowne volume. As regards the ten others, it must be borne in mind that Warburton may have had a better knowledge of the Registers from 1640 onwards than we as yet can boast, and the

same may even possibly apply to the licenses of the Masters of the Revels. We are therefore by no means bound to assume that they all represent actual manuscripts. And there are certain suspicious points about the list. Of the twelve plays just mentioned, nine occur in the shorter list on the verso of the leaf, and these nine include the two out of three plays rescued complete which are not otherwise recorded: moreover, the last few entries on this side are somewhat irregular, and many have been added later. Of the last ten titles, the only one previously recorded is Tourneur's 'Nobleman,' while in the list on the recto of the leaf there are only nine items not in Moseley's entries, and of these four are known from other sources. The fragmentary play of Wild's rescued is not entered in the list at all; nor is 'Demetrius and Marina,' which appeared at Warburton's sale; but these may have been acquired later. On the other hand, the 'Tyrant,' which is represented as having been destroyed, was also in the sale, and is presumably still extant somewhere. So again with Formido's 'Governor,' which is extant in the British Museum. It may be a different manuscript, of course, but it bears a note, possibly in Heber's own hand-writing, stating that it is the same. Again, 'Believe as you list,' entered both in 1653 and 1660, is in Warburton's list of victims, yet it too is now safe in the British Museum. Here again we may suppose two manuscripts, but it will be well to remember that Moseley's collection must have consisted mostly of official playhouse copies bearing the Master's licence, that we

know that this was the case with one early play preserved—the 'Second Maiden's Tragedy'—and that it is just the official licensed copy of 'Believe as you list' that has survived. There is also a slight difficulty that arises if we suppose Moseley's alternative titles to be genuine, and Warburton to have inherited his collection. For some of the plays had been printed, and if Moseley had sent a play to the press, it is most unlikely that he would have ever seen the copy again, still more unlikely that he would have replaced it among his unprinted stock. There is one point on which Warburton clearly had some authority independent of the Register. In the 1653 list we find 'Alexis the Chaste Gallant,' in Warburton's 'Alexias or the Chaste Gallant.' Now 'Alexias' is supported by the 'Alexius' of Herbert's licence, but Herbert has 'Lover' for 'Gallant.' If Herbert is correct, we have another instance in which Warburton followed the Register and not the manuscript. He may have concocted the title from the 1653 entry and either Herbert or some other source now lost. If Herbert was right! We cannot tell; but as Moseley added a second title, the 'Bashful Lover,' he would have had a motive for altering 'Lover' to 'Gallant,' while Herbert would have no reason for a change.

This, I think, concludes the evidence I have been able to extract from the lists. That it amounts to a disproof of Warburton's extraordinary claim I do not for a moment pretend. But taken all together, I think that it does throw considerable doubt upon the story. My own idea of what

happened is somewhat as follows. Warburton in the course of his antiquarian researches came across a few manuscript plays and grew interested in the subject. He collected notes, probably from various sources, but chiefly from Moseley's entries, and made out a list containing the titles of such pieces as he thought it might be possible to recover, in addition to those of the plays of which he had already become possessed. Some he actually did succeed in finding, and a few further manuscripts coming into his hands were added at the end of the list. The collection and list were then laid aside, a few manuscripts finding their way among the rest of the collector's archaeological litter, the bulk, however, within reach of the parsimonious fingers of Betsy the baker of pies. Long afterwards her master discovered his loss, and no longer in the least remembering either the extent of his collection or the nature of his list, added in a fit of not unnatural vexation the famous memorandum. If this be so, we have undoubtedly to lament the loss of a few pieces, perhaps of considerable interest, but not by any means the dramatic holocaust that has made famous the name of the 'pie-eating Somerset Herald.'

W. W. Greg.

AN HISTORIC BIBLE AT HEIDELBERG.

THE University Library at Heidelberg possesses a very early copy of the English Authorised Version of the Bible, not indeed of the editio princeps, but of the first quarto edition, published in 1612. As the Tercentenary has reminded us, there were two sets of early editions of the 1611 versions, distinguished as the 'He' and 'She' Bibles respectively according as they read in Ruth iii. 15 'he went into the citie' or 'she went into the citie,' the former being the correct rendering. All the 1612 quartos are 'He' Bibles, but again there are two issues, readily distinguishable by the headline of sig. [H. 5] verso. The Heidelberg copy is one of those which read, 'The Galatians reproued. To the Galaitans. The Law a scholemaster to Christ'—that is to say, it has the characteristic misprint 'Galaitans.' In it the following errata of the 1611 'He' Bible still remain uncorrected: 'Emorite' for 'Amorite' in Gen. x. 16; 'hoopes' for 'hooks' in Exod. xxxviii. 11; 'offred, offered' for 'offered' in Ezra iii. 5; 'that he may have' for 'that ye may have' in Ezek. vi. 8; 'poured it'

for 'poured it not' in Ezek. xxiv. 7. The Bible is a complete one, including genealogies, map of Canaan, and the Apocrypha, and is preceded by 'The Booke of Common Prayer, with the Psalter or Psalmes of David, Of that Translation which is appointed to be vsed in Churches. Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, Printer to the Kings most Excellent Maiestie. 1611.' At the end of the volume is the metrical version of the Psalms (Sternhold and Hopkins), 'Imprinted for the Companie of Stationers. 1612.' The Prayer Book is in black letter, but all the rest is in Roman type.

If this were all, there would be nothing particularly remarkable about this Heidelberg Bible; and as a matter of fact, until a short time ago it was standing all unheeded along with much dusty Old Testament literature in the theological division of the library (pressmark Q. 397). Now, however, it has been withdrawn from obscurity, and it will be accorded a place in the permanent exhibition of choice books and MSS. which is at present undergoing re-arrangement at the hands of Professor Sillib, one of the librarians. It is beyond doubt a relic of the unfortunate Elizabeth, Electress Palatine and Queen of Bohemia, daughter of our James I. If it was not used by her personally, it at least belonged to a member of her household.

The book is battered now, but it was once a handsome volume. It is bound in calf, and both covers are stamped in gold with a design occupying almost the whole surface and surrounding the royal arms as borne by James I. and his Stuart successors. The edges are gilt and impressed with a dotted

scroll-work pattern. The fastenings that the book apparently once possessed have disappeared.

The first internal feature to be noted is in the Litany, where one of the petitions runs: 'That it may please thee to blesse and preserue our gracious Queene Anne, Prince *Charles, Frederic Prince Elector palatin, and the lady Elizabeth his wife*,' the words in italics being neatly written in imitation of Roman type on two narrow slips of paper, which are pasted in so as to hide the printed words which followed 'Prince.' On the next page, also in the Litany, there is 'A prayer for the Queene and Prince, and other the King and Queenes children,' which has been similarly altered, so that it reads: 'Almighty God, which hast promised to be a Father of thine elect and of their seed, we humbly beseech thee to blesse our gracious Queen Anne, Prince *Charles, Frederic Prince Elector Palatin, & the Lady Elizabeth his Wife*.' This time the paper slips, though still adhering to the margin, have been so loosened that it is possible to read the underlying printed text. The words designed to be obliterated are: 'Henry, and all the King and Queenes Royall Progenie.' Prince Henry, it may be remarked, died on 6th November, 1612. The Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Frederic V. went through the ceremony of betrothal on 27th December, 1612, and Mrs. Everett Green ('Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia,' new edition, revised by Mrs. S. C. Lomas, 1909, p. 46) says that 'from this time the Prince [Frederic] was prayed for publicly in the churches among the children of the King.' Elizabeth, however, could hardly have

been called his wife until after their marriage, which took place on St. Valentine's Day, 14th February, 1613.

Even if those paper slips were pasted in the Litany originally for use in England, there is little doubt that the handsome Bible and service book made its way to Heidelberg and was used by somebody in Elizabeth's private chapel at the Castle there. And afterwards, when the Princess and her husband moved to Prague (October, 1619), to take possession of the crown of Bohemia, the book must have accompanied them. At any rate it was there when, scarcely more than a year later, after the battle of the White Hill, 8th November, 1620, the Winter King and Queen fled to Breslau, leaving a considerable quantity of their belongings behind at Prague to fall into the hands of the victorious Imperial troops. An inscription in faded ink on the flyleaf of the Bible says, in a hand which the Chief Librarian, Professor Wille, does not doubt to be contemporary, 'Ex Arce Pragensi post victoriā Cæsaream. A° 1620.' In these words, with many a flourish of his pen, the unknown writer has recorded the fact that this book was part of the loot which the Imperialists got at Prague. A subsequent owner has copied out the inscription immediately below in a more legible script. A third owner has appended to this the note: 'v. Moshemii Histor. eccles. p. 863.' Mosheim's 'Institutiones' were not published until 1755, and the part of his work referred to is devoted to an account of the ecclesiastical condition of England under James I. A little lower down on the flyleaf

there are two more references in the same handwriting: 'S. Nachrichten von einer Hallischen Bibliothek, 7. band, p. 95. sqq. 101. sqq. Walchii Bibliotheca Theolog. Selecta, Tom. IV. p. 124.' The 'Nachrichten' quoted appeared at Halle in 1751; J. G. Walch's 'Bibliotheca' was published at Jena in 1765. At both places information will be found respecting the English translations of the Bible.

On the back of the flyleaf, in the same hand, a passage in praise of the English Prayer Book has been copied from a French translation of the 'Tatler.' 'Cette Liturgie est parfaitement belle. Il n'y en eut jamais, ni dans aucune nation, ni dans aucune Langue, dont les sentimens et les expressions repondent mieux à la petitesse de l' hom̄e, et à la grandeur de la Divinité. v. Steele Babillard, ou Le Philosophe Nouvelliste,' Tom. II. art. 31. p. 338. I have not been able to verify this quotation, as the French translation is not accessible here in Heidelberg; but the thought is repeated by Steele in No. 147 of the 'Spectator.'

The same hand again has written in the margin at the beginning of the Communion Service: 'v. Bayle Dictionn. Tom. ii. p. 842 b au fin.' The 1740 edition of Bayle contains at that place a quotation from Burnet on the Communion Service in the Elizabethan Prayer Book.

In Acts vi. 3 the word 'we' in the phrase 'whom we may appoint' has been underlined, and the same writer has noted in the margin: 'Butler Hudibras. p. 381. Baumgartē Hallische Biblioth. vol. VII. p. 105.' That is to say, the owner,

having read in Siegmund Jacob Baumgarten's 'Nachrichten' for February, 1751, that some copies of the English Bible as late as 1689 still contained the misprint 'ye' instead of 'we' in Acts vi. 3, turned like a good bibliophil to the passage in his own copy to see what the reading was there. This misprint originated in the first Cambridge Bible of 1629, and lent fictitious aid to the anti-episcopalian arguments of some sectaries. What edition of Hudibras is referred to, I do not know, but presumably the passage intended is Part III., canto ii., ll. 7-10:

> So e'er the storm of war broke out,
> Religion spawn'd a various rout
> Of petulant capricious sects,
> The maggots of corrupted texts.

I conjecture that all these notes in the third hand are the work of the only former owner of the volume whose name can be stated with certainty —Erhard Riedlin. His engraved armorial bookplate in rococo style, with the inscription 'Ex Bibliotheca Erhardi Riedlin,' and signed J. A. Fridrich jun. A.V., is pasted inside the cover. Jakob Andreas Fridrich, the younger, of Augsburg (A.V. = Augustae Vindelicorum), was engraver to the court of Württemberg, and a frequent designer of book-plates. Count Leiningen-Westerburg in his work on German Bookplates selects the Riedlin bookplate for reproduction as the most characteristic specimen of this artist's work. The facsimile is given on p. 229 of the German edition ('Deutsche

und oesterreichische Bibliothekzeichen Ex Libris,' Stuttgart, 1901), and is no doubt to be found also in the English translation by G. R. Dennis (Bell and Sons, 1901). The learned author dates it *circa* 1750, and this agrees with the dates of the books cited in the MS. notes, and with the only other fact that I have been able to discover about Erhard Riedlin, viz., that he graduated at Göttingen in 1742, for the British Museum possesses his 'Dissertatio Historica sistens vitam, itinera et scripta Fr. F. Fabri' (pressmark T. 1519/10). Perhaps he was a relative of Veit Riedlin, a physician of Ulm, who is the only person of the name in Jöcher's 'Gelehrtenlexicon.' I find no mention of him in Meusel's 'Gelehrtes Teutschland."

How or when Riedlin's old English Bible was acquired by the Heidelberg University Library is unknown. It has certainly been there for forty years, and probably a good deal longer, to judge from the handwriting of the slip on which it is catalogued. Possibly it was offered for sale and bought with full appreciation of its historical significance, but if so its importance has been overlooked and forgotten. It is not at all surprising that a royal book should have passed into private hands after the battle in 1620, but that it should have come back after more than a century, perhaps after two centuries, to such an appropriate abiding place as Heidelberg is indeed strange. At least one other of Elizabeth's books has undergone a similar fate. There is in the British Museum Library (pressmark C. 38. i. 10) a folio copy of Raleigh's

'History of the World,' 1614, of which the catalogue says: 'From a series of MS. notes on the title-page and following leaf, it appears that this volume originally belonged to the Princess Palatine Elizabeth, daughter of James I., and was left behind her at Prague on her flight from that city, November, 1620, when it fell into the hands of a Spaniard named Verdugo. At the recapture of Prague by the Swedes, 1648, it was recovered by a German of the name of Klee, who restored it to John Philip Frederick, son of the Princess.'

The Heidelberg Bible seems to have been used at some time before the period of Riedlin's ownership by somebody who was learning English. In the early chapters of Genesis the words *nostrils*, *aprons*, *belly*, *bruise*, *heele*, *sorow*, *shalbe*, *hearkened*, *coates of skinnes*, *euer*, *thoughts*, are underlined in faded ink; and against the word *beguiled* there is written in the same ink 'seducere. decipio.' But, as so often happens, the industry of the careful marker gave out before he had got very far—no farther than chapter VI—and the few other markings in the book seem to indicate another sort of reader. The man who underlined in Isaiah liii. 6 'layd on him the iniquitie of vs all,' and the marginal note there, 'Heb. hee hath made the iniquitie of vs all to meet on him,' and in Hebrews ix. 15 'for the redemption of the transgressions,' hardly had philological or linguistic ends in view. Those two underlinings, and the occasional ink-blots here and there, enable the imagination to conjure up a picture of Elizabeth's chaplain preparing his sermons with this volume open before him.

There is one other MS. entry, and one only, to speculate about. It is the first one of all in the book. Inside the cover, in the middle of the top edge of the paper, there is written in yet another early hand: '15 of August.' There is no date of the year, and though a long worm-hole comes rather close to the end of the word 'August,' it is practically certain that there never was any. One is tempted to think that the 15th of August was the date on which the book was received by its original owner. The earliest possible year would then be 1612; the latest 1618, because when the day came round again Frederic was on the eve of being elected King of Bohemia, and in this book he is only the Elector Palatine. Mrs. Everett Green (*op. cit.*, p. 24) gives an undated extract from the account book kept for Elizabeth by her governor, Lord Harrington, recording a payment for 'a great Bible' and other books 'by her Highness specially appointed to be provided.' But 'a great Bible' would naturally mean a folio, and apparently (*op. cit.*, p. 20, n. 1) the accounts refer only to the period from Michaelmas, 1612, to Lady Day, 1613. Some authorities give the date of Elizabeth's birth as 15th August, 1596, in which case it would be easy to suppose that the Heidelberg Bible was a birthday present, but other authorities say it was 16th or 19th August. Mrs. Everett Green, with charming impartiality, gives 16th August at the beginning of her book (p. 2), and 19th August elsewhere. Her footnote, however, on p. 106, shows pretty clearly that really the Elector's birthday was on 16th August (she says

19th on p. 97), and Elizabeth's on 19th August. On 15th August, 1615 (or was it in 1616? Mrs. Everett Green's account is not quite clear, p. 106) Frederic and Elizabeth returned to Heidelberg from their tour in the Upper Palatinate. Did she find this Bible, a present from England, awaiting her then? 15th August, if not a red-letter day in Elizabeth's family history, was very near to several. It was on his birthday, 16th August, 1619, that Frederic's election as King of Bohemia took place.

If we give up the riddle of '15th August' as insoluble, we may still conjecture that the Bible was supplied for the use of some member of Elizabeth's suite. If so, for whom more naturally than for the chaplain? By her marriage contract (signed 16th May, 1612) she was to have forty-nine servants, to be kept at her husband's expense, and among them was mentioned a chaplain with a salary of £50 (*op. cit.*, p. 61). As a matter of fact, in the suite that accompanied her to Germany there were two chaplains, Dr. Alexander Chapman (who got called Scapman by the Germans, and died in 1629 a Prebendary of Canterbury, where he is buried), and Mr. Twyst (*op. cit.*, p. 416). On her arrival at Heidelberg Elizabeth, staunch Churchwoman as she was, demanded a chapel of her own (*ib.* 89, n. 2). Colonel Schomberg, who was Frederic's factotum, visited England at the close of 1613, and on his return succeeded in obtaining certain privileges for Elizabeth—*e.g.*, 'that her chaplain should reside at the castle gate, and have a suitable place prepared near her apartments, in which to conduct the English service'

(*ib.* 95). According to Schomberg's regulations for her household (1615) all requests for alms were to be laid before the chaplain (*ib.* 102). On her journey out from England she had given away £26 in charity, the chaplain acting as almoner (*ib.* 74). Though constant in attendance at her own chapel, she was anxious to communicate at least once a year in the 'great church' with her husband, to show the people that her creed was not essentially different from her husband's (*ib.* 104), and she evinced the same desire at Prague (*ib.* 147).

Dr. Donne, the poet, was at Heidelberg in June, 1619, as chaplain to Lord Doncaster's embassy, and preached twice before Elizabeth and her husband. He, no doubt, brought his own books with him, though it is just possible that he may have seen or handled the volume now at Heidelberg. He preached once from Rom. xiii. 11—but there are no blots on that page! and the verse is not marked.

Perhaps it was the 'zealous and godly' Dr. Chapman who, on the same page, in Rom. xii. 17, has supplied neatly in ink the all-important missing word *no* before *man* in the sentence which there stands printed, 'Recompence to man euill for euill.' Though less glaring, the error is really as serious as the omission of the negative particle in the seventh commandment, which cost the printers of the so-called 'Wicked' Bible (8vo, 1631) confiscation and a fine of £300. Chapman's last sermon at Heidelberg, 26th September, 1619, just before his mistress set out for Prague, was from James iv. 13 (*op. cit.*, 132), but again there are no blots or scorings to indicate that he used this Bible in

preparing his sermon. He accompanied the court to Bohemia, but how or when he returned to England Mrs. Everett Green was unable to discover.

Frederic attended Elizabeth's English service right up to the last, 15th October, 1620 (*op. cit.* 161), at a time when goods were already being packed up or sent on in advance in anticipation of their leaving Prague (p. 162). The enemy were already in the neighbourhood. Twenty baggage waggons of Frederic's, in one of which were his garter insignia, were seized in the battle of the White Hill (p. 165). 'In the haste of the flight, many valuable things were left behind, including not only a large portion of the wardrobe and personal property of Elizabeth, but the royal crown and ornaments and all Frederic's private papers' (p. 166). Nethersole, Elizabeth's secretary, returned to Prague at some risk to fetch his books and papers (p. 167). And actually on the flight Elizabeth's own attendants are alleged to have pillaged some of the baggage waggons.

But the Heidelberg Bible, it must be supposed, fell into the hands of the enemy. The prayers in Elizabeth's handwriting which Mrs. Everett Green (pp. 122-3, uncorrected by Mrs. Lomas) says are in Heidelberg University Library (Cod. Pal. Germ. 661, 690, 694) are, unfortunately, apocryphal. They are prayers of the 'Electress Elizabeth,' it is true, but of that Elizabeth who was wife of the Elector Johann Casimir (see J. Wille, 'Die Deutschen Pfälzer Handschriften des xvi. und xvii. Jahrhunderts der Universitäts-Bibliothek in Heidelberg,' Heidelberg, 1903). The Bible is, therefore,

unique at the University Library as a relic of the Queen of Hearts, 'th' eclipse and glory of her kind,' whose short residence there brought so much gaiety into the old capital of the Palatinate, whose cheerfulness never deserted her in all her trials, and whose memory even now casts a glamour over the castle ruins which they would otherwise not possess for the English visitor to Heidelberg.

LIONEL R. M. STRACHAN.

THE COVERDALE BIBLE OF 1535.

THE question where and by whom the Coverdale Bible of 1535 was printed has long remained one of the puzzles of English bibliography. Mr. A. W. Pollard, in his 'Records of the English Bible' (pp. 12 and 13), sums up the existing evidence in the following words:

'Coverdale graduated as Bachelor of Canon Law at Cambridge in 1531, but thereafter until 1536 his movements are unknown.[1] There has consequently been much dispute as to where and by what firm his Bible was printed in 1535. Early in the eighteenth century, however, Humphrey Wanley, the librarian of Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, suggested that the printer was probably Christopher Froschouer of Zurich, who fifteen years later produced another edition of it. Investigation showed that two of the larger types of the English Bible of 1535 were in the possession of Froschouer, but these were used also by other German printers, and the matter remained undecided until, in his article on Coverdale in the "Dictionary of National Biography," Mr. H. R. Tedder, by the kindness of Dr. Christian Ginsburg, was enabled to state that he had seen two leaves of a Swiss-German Bible printed in the same German type as the text of Coverdale's English version. The complete book,

'[1] If the story that he was subsidized while translating by Jacob van Meteren of Antwerp be believed, he was probably part of the time at Antwerp.'

an unrecorded edition of 1529-30 from the press of Froschouer, had once been in Dr. Ginsburg's possession, but I learn from Dr. Ginsburg himself that this disappeared from his library in a very painful manner, and only these leaves remain. While it is regrettable that the complete evidence can no longer be produced, they may be taken as sufficiently establishing that it was at Zurich and by Froschouer that the first printed English Bible was issued.'

Some time ago, when cataloguing the Swedish section of the Bible Society's Library, I had occasion to collate carefully the first Swedish Bible, printed in folio by Georg Richolff at Upsala in 1540-1. The types used for the text and the headlines seemed strangely familiar, and it was not long before I recognized that they were closely similar to, if not identical with, those employed in printing the English Bible of 1535. So far as I am aware, no writer has hitherto drawn attention to this fact. Recently, at the British Museum, I showed the two books side by side to Mr. Pollard, and he and Mr. Scholderer very kindly examined them with expert eyes, and gave me the benefit of their opinion upon the text-type. Their verdict is that the letters and signs (punctuation marks, etc.) appear to be the same in the two books, with the following trifling exceptions: (1) the E in the Swedish Bible is perhaps a little broader than that in the English Bible; (2) the interrogation marks differ; (3) the Swedish Bible has a large double hyphen, while the English Bible has a small single hyphen. Before the printing of the Swedish Bible, however, the type must have been re-cast

on a smaller body, twenty lines of text in this Bible measuring 88 mm. against 92 mm. in the English Bible.

Now, whence did this type, or the materials for producing it, come to Upsala? Dr. Aksel Andersson, the Chief Librarian of the Royal University Library of Upsala, who has generously supplied my colleague, Mr. Darlow, and myself with valuable notes on Swedish editions down to the year 1800, informs me that the printer, G. Richolff, was specially summoned from Lubeck to supervise the production of the first Swedish Bible at Upsala, and it may perhaps be presumed that he brought his materials with him.

The significance of this information in regard to the question of the *provenance* of the English Bible of 1535 is obvious. The ascription of that important book to the press of Christopher Froschouer of Zurich rests mainly on the fact that Froschouer had used the same text-type five years earlier in printing a Swiss-German Bible. It is remarkable, however, that no book issued from Froschouer's press subsequently to 1530 is known to exhibit this particular type. With the new evidence before us, therefore, the conjecture may plausibly be made that soon after 1530 Froschouer sold the punches for this type to a Lubeck printer, and that the type was used at Lubeck for printing the English Bible of 1535, before being transferred to Upsala. It should not be difficult to obtain further information about Richolff, and about the books produced by his firm at Lubeck. And if we could discover that the type in question was used in any editions

printed there before, or just after, 1535, we might lay our hands on the key to the problem of the origin of the Coverdale Bible.

I have written this rather hasty note in the hope that someone better qualified than myself, and familiar with the presses of Zurich and Lubeck, may be tempted to follow up the clue—if it can be called a clue—and may win the gratitude of bibliographers by ultimately solving one of the most obscure riddles in the history of the English Bible.

H. F. Moule.

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

THE French novels of the last three months do not include anything of striking excellenee. Pierre Mille's 'Caillow et Tili' is a penetrating study of little children, written with a perfect understanding of, and sympathy with, the childish mind. With all the care taken of the child in these modern days, few realize either how children are affected by the things they hear said by grown-up people, or how absolutely children take things for granted. That is really one of the most important things that those responsible for the bringing up of children need to know, and Pierre Mille proves it with great insight, and in clear and simple, yet pointed language.

'Les Exilés' is an Alsatian novel, in which the author, Paul Acker, seeks to show how Alsace still remains French. It is not very interesting as a work of fiction, but helps us to realize that the feeling of French nationality persists in Alsace even after forty years.

'La Prison de Verre,' by Gaston Chérau, is an interesting study of *bourgeois* psychology, and of the persecution and tyranny that it is in the power of parents-in-law in France to exercise on a daughter-in-law even after her husband is dead.

The character of Aristide Chevallier, the father-in-law, an egoist and hypocrite of the Pecksniffian order, is admirably drawn.

So far I only know André Gide as the author of the very interesting and beautifully written novel, 'La Porte Etroite.' In a book of lectures and essays, entitled 'Nouveaux Prétextes: reflexions sur quelques points de littérature et de morale,' he shows himself a critic of much freshness and originality. The most striking are the two lectures dealing with 'l'évolution du théâtre' and 'l'importance du public.' In the first the three faces of the subject, so to speak, are dealt with: the point of view of the dramatist, of the actor, and of the spectator. Art, Gide declares, is always the result of restraint. For example, take the sonnets of Shakespeare, Ronsard, Petrarch, Michel Angelo, or the Terza Rima of Dante, the fugues of Bach. In fact, 'la force d'expression du souffle lyrique soit en raison de sa compression . . . l'art naît de contrainte, vit de lutte, meurt de liberté.'

The plays now presented in our theatres are poor art; they are too episodic, too close to the spectator; the artist must preserve the distance between the stage and the spectator if he is to create the illusion without which no stage play can successfully attain its object. The coming dramatist must set aside realism and give us new forms of heroism and new heroic figures. Gide is quite certain that the artist has duties to the public, just as the public has duties to the artist. The great exponents of art in the time of the Renaissance invariably thought of their public,

and would not have understood what was meant by art for art. Goethe held a similar view when he denounced the *naturel* in acting. We call it sincerity to-day to act as if there were no one in the theatre. I remember seeing a great actress who prides herself on her naturalness; the whole time she was on the stage she was either crouching behind a big sofa, or hiding her face behind a big fan. The artist should know whom he is addressing. Nowadays he either breaks with his epoch and shuts himself up, as it were, within himself, or flatters the mob, and so scarcely deserves the name of artist. Gide's argument is interesting and is eloquently stated. But it must be confessed that both irony and paradox have their part in it. Gide is a frank pagan: he declares that the Greeks drew the portrait of their ideal in their art, and that with them heaven touched earth, gods became men, and men became gods. Then when society demanded that art should be Christian, the artist served up what was asked of him. If Gide is right, it would be hypocrisy and not sincerity that produces great art. But however that may be, he is probably right in thinking that art must respond to some need of society, or it will not flourish.

Six months ago I noticed here a book on Meredith by a Frenchman, and now M. F. A. Hedgcock devotes five hundred pages to a minute, almost a scientific, study of the work of 'Thomas Hardy. Penseur et artiste.' The book has obtained for its author the degree of 'Docteur-ès-lettres.' He begins with a chapter of biography. Then follows a study of the early verses, which

are characterised as containing the expression of Hardy's temperament; but I imagine this is not peculiar to Hardy. Poets usually express their temperament in their verse, especially in the lyrics of their youth. In a chapter headed 'In search of a method,' the conclusion is reached that Hardy's method is a combination of realism and imagination. Hardy's fatalism and pessimism have each a chapter. Another deals with his attitude to nature, in which his critic declares that Hardy's imagination seeks to pass beyond the veil—that he is a believer without faith.

The chapter on Hardy as a writer is perhaps the most satisfactory. Much is said as to his care for form, in which he shows a most exacting aesthetic sense. His method of composition is dramatic. The accessory characters are everywhere subordinated, the interest is concentrated on a little group, the principal figure of which is generally a woman. The style is very individual, and the charm of Hardy's prose is due to his wide knowledge, his imagination, and his penetrating artistic perception.

M. Hedgcock declares in conclusion that as a thinker Hardy takes rank among the great modern pessimists, like Leopardi, De Vigny, Schopenhauer, and Renan. He has given the most beautiful expression to be found in English literature to 'la philosophie desespérée.' The last pages contain a comparison between Hardy and Meredith, and Hedgcock considers Hardy the greater artist. He sums up thus:

'Il est de mode aujourd'hui d'exalter Meredith comme philosophe et de rabaisser Hardy au rang des simples

conteurs. C'est un jugement hâtif et qui manque de profondeur. Que la philosophie du premier soit, par sa limitation même, plus pratique et plus utile, nous n'en doutons pas. Mais le parallèle que nous venons d'instituer montre combien la pensée de M. Hardy dépasse celle de son contemporain et avec quel courage elle aborde le problème de l'absolu. Meredith ressemble à Fielding et à Thackeray, il s'astreint à la stricte réalité, retranchant de sa considération tout ce qui n'est pas visible; et dans ses tableaux, qu'éclaire un fort bon sens, il enseigne par l'exemple; son système positif simplifie les problèmes en en amoindrissant la portée. Derrière l'œuvre de M. Hardy il y a un système universale et complet, qui la rend solide et homogène; ce n'est pas là son moindre titre à être considéré comme le romancier le plus éminent de son époque.'

I do not know that much is gained either for knowledge or for criticism by comparisons of this sort; but sometimes they are suggestive, and when they lead to thought are justified. But it is open to question whether such an elaborate analysis of the work of any novelist, living or dead, whatever his greatness, is needed for the right understanding and appreciation of him. Drama and fiction, if they are to touch our hearts, must make an immediate and direct appeal, and can, better than any other form of literature, dispense with guides and interpreters.

Mademoiselle Lydie Morel has chosen as the subject of a thesis presented to the faculty of letters at the University of Neuchâtel the life and work of Jean Ogier de Gombauld. As poet he is the subject of an essay by Faguet, but as prose writer and moralist he is almost unknown. Too much

admired in his own day, so is he too much forgotten now. But although he was not a great author, he could occasionally be charming, often witty, and was never negligent. He wrote prose which, if generally cold, was elegant, and which sometimes vibrated with passion. He was best in his sonnets, which were little inferior to those of Desportes and Du Bellay. Boileau certainly said that only two or three of them were worth anything, but it must be remembered that it was also Boileau who wrote, 'Un sonnet sans défaut vaut seul un long poème.' Mlle. Morel concerns herself rather with the man than the writer, and sets herself to show how Gombauld reconciled his protestantism with his functions of 'poëte-courtesan.'

Hermann Sudermann has just published a volume of short stories, entitled 'Die indische Lilie.' The tales are either erotic and ugly, or fanciful and dull. The elderly libertine who, grown tired of his dissolute life, determines to ask the woman who has cared for him in silence all along to marry him, and finds himself too late in the field, is not a new figure in fiction, nor is he treated here with any freshness. But Sudermann makes the evil of such a life abundantly clear. The tale entitled 'Der Lebensplan,' however, is on a higher level, and contains one of those portraits of a wicked, unscrupulous woman which Sudermann draws with so much skill and truth. A girl and boy meet; the boy is ambitious, and desires to study for a doctor; the girl is greatly attracted to him, and, desiring to help him, devises a plan of life which

will enable her to do so. A child is the result of the boy and girl adventure, but she cleverly conceals the condition of things and manages to secure another man as her husband, who naturally passes as the father. Other schemes are equally successful, and she is able to send considerable sums of money to the boy, whom she does not see again until a much later period, when by foul means she has got rid of all the obstacles, her husband included, in the way of her marriage with this idol of her youth. When they do meet she finds him to be a successful medical practitioner of the most ordinary type, fat, honest, commonplace. He had never realized her feeling for him, had accepted the money as a loan, which he now pays back; but discovering her wish, and learning the existence of the child, he is ready to marry her. The woman, however, is too clever not to understand that no power in heaven or on earth could break down the barriers or raze the walls that stand between them everlastingly.

Another volume of short stories, 'Schwache Helden,' by Hugo Salus, is delightful reading. It contains four tales, the hero of each being the victim of some weakness of character. In one he suffers from invincible shyness, but the girl he loves comes to his aid; in another he is equally shy, but the woman who might have helped him fails him, and both miss the best in life. In yet another overweening vanity is the weakness, and the translator who sets out to improve on Byron comes to utter grief. In the last tale the hero has a kind of cruelty not unknown in weak characters, but

through a woman he is led to better courses. All are admirable sketches, and cannot fail to please the most critical reader. They are full of charm and wit, and written in a beautiful lucid style.

Otto Ernst is better known as playwright and novelist than as critic. But in 'Blühender Lorbeer. Plaudereien und Andachten über deutsche Dichter,' he has produced an original and unconventional volume of criticism—although in his preface he denies that the book contains criticism at all—that is well worthy of attention in these days, when we hasten to forget the work of a past generation, and unduly laud that of a new. The authors he discusses all belong to the past, Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, Heine, Hebbel, Reuter, Keller, Anzengruber, and Fontane, to arrange them in something like chronological order. But Ernst, and quite rightly, does not trouble to do it. He begins with Fontane and ends with Lessing. Ernst's desire is to make his readers love the writings of the men he describes. To love a poet is a different thing from admiring him. And I believe that no one can read Ernst's pages without the desire to know more intimately through their work the poets of whom he treats.

He points out one of the great gifts of Heine—often too little noted—the wonderful way in which he handled the German language, a fact of which Schubert and Schumann were quick to take advantage, for they understood that speech is not only the expression of soul, but soul itself. He shows, too, how Goethe is more than a poet, he is a whole world, a man in whom all the great

features of human existence came to splendid fruition. The lesson Goethe teaches is joy in life, with all its beauty and splendour. Yet, as a rule, Germans prefer Schiller to Goethe. Ernst thus explains the preference:

'In Schiller's verses the storm and the sea mingle their organ tones, drums are heard, and bells ring. Every ear can easily hear drums and bells. Goethe demands a more refined ear. If he is read with that ear, it is soon felt how with him the rocks and the trees make music, the flowers and the herbs, the clouds and the stars sing, and life and human fate sound as a great holy hymn, and to the reader, as to the poet,

'Sein Ohr vernimmt den Einklang der Natur.
Das weit Zerstreute sammelt sein Gemüt,
Und sein Gefühl belebt das Unbelebte.'

One of the most interesting essays is on Gottfried Keller as a lyric poet. Keller's prose is well known, and most people who read German are acquainted with 'Der grüne Heinrich.' But his charming lyrics are sometimes neglected. Poems like 'Die Spinnerin' and 'Die Zeit geht nicht' ought to find a place in every anthology of German verse. In the latter he expresses the thought that it is not time that goes, but it is we who go.

'Die Zeit geht nicht, sie stehet still,
Wir ziehen durch sie hin;
Sie ist ein Karawanserai,
Wir sind die Pilger d'rin.

. . . . .

'Es blitzt ein Tropfen Morgentau
Im Strahl des Sonnenlichts;
Ein Tag kann eine Perle sein
Und ein Jahrhundert nichts.'

Ernst is an idealist: he believes in romance and beauty and fancy and the things of the spirit, and to read him and learn about the poets whom he reverences is most refreshing and inspiriting.

* * * * *

The following recently published books deserve attention:—

Silhouettes historiques. Par le Marquis de Ségur.

Sketches of history and of literary history from the time of Louis XIII. onwards, including Bourdelot, the physician of the Grand Condé, Madame Lieven, and Guizot.

Correspondance inédite de Marie-Caroline reine de Naples et de Sicile avec le Marquis de Gallo, publiée et annotée par le commandant M. H. Weil et le Marquis L. Di Somma Circello.

There is a preface by M. H. Welschinger. Vol. I. covers the years 1785-98, and Vol. II. 1799-1806. The correspondence is an historical document of the first order, since it was not destined for publication.

Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist. Von Friedrich Gundolf.

The author deals very fully with the way in which Shakespeare has penetrated into German literature up to the Romantics. He divides his book into three parts—Shakespeare 'als Stoff, als Form, als Gehalt.'

Max Reinhardt. Von Siegfried Jacobsohn.

An account of the talented and accomplished director of the Deutsche Theatre in Berlin. It is of interest that in eight years he has produced a number of Shakespeare's plays in a fashion, both as regards acting and artistic setting, worthy of the great dramatist. The plays are 'The Merry Wives of Windsor,' 'The Merchant of Venice,' 'The Winter's Tale,' 'Romeo and Juliet,' 'Twelfth Night,' 'Lear,' 'Hamlet,' 'Midsummer Night's Dream,' and the 'Taming of the Shrew.'

Adolf Fischhof. Das Lebensbild eines österreichischen Politikers. Von Richard Charmatz.

An Austrian statesman, well known but little understood.

Grillparzers Werke. Herausgegeben von August Sauer.

The first volume of a new, good critical edition, much needed by the lover and student of German drama. Grillparzer is a classic, and perhaps the greatest German dramatist after Schiller and Goethe. This volume promises well, and seems to possess all the characteristics required by such an edition.

Une carrière d'artiste au XIXe siècle. Charles Landelle 1821-1908. Par Casimir Stryienski.

Landelle drew in chalk many French poets of the nineteenth century. He visited England in 1849, in company with Gautier and de Nerval. Reproductions of his chalk drawings of Gautier, de Musset, and de Nerval appear in this volume.

Ordres et Apostilles de Napoléon (1799-1815). Vol. I. Par Arthur Chuquet.

These notes were found while searching the 'Archives de la guerre,' and serve as a sort of supplement to Napoleon's correspondence. They show how a word, a brief sentence, sufficed both the Consul and the Emperor to express his will, settle a question, remove a difficulty, pronounce a verdict, sum up a man's character.

Les femmes de l'émigration. Par Joseph Turquan.

A very interesting account of the women *emigrées* from the beginning, when they only expected to be away a few weeks, and it was the fashion to ask, 'Quand partez-vous? Où comptez-vous aller?' and so through all their adventures in the different lands in which they settled.

Über Goethes Gedichte. Von Viktor Hehn. Aus dessen Nachlass herausgegeben von Eduard von der Hellen.

Lectures given in 1851, and now published for the first time. Preceded by a valuable essay on German poetry after Schiller and Goethe. The lyrics of Goethe are classified according to subjects, and each poem interpreted and criticised, and the whole forms a useful and inspiring guide for those beginning to study Goethe.

ELIZABETH LEE.

THE SO-CALLED GUTENBERG DOCUMENTS.[1]

IT is difficult to follow the arguments of the German bibliographers. They write in the belief that Gutenberg is the inventor of printing; that all the books and types mentioned above are his work, and that no other opinion is possible. Hence they refer us for evidence of his activity, genius, skill, etc., often on one and the same page or in one and the same sentence, to various letters or signs of contractions or printers' habits, occurring in different books printed in different types, so that they mingle the characteristics of the Paris 'Donatus' with those of the 'Turk-kalendar'; those of $B36$ with those of $B42$; those of $B42$ with those of the 'Astronomical and Turk-kalendar,' the 'Cisianus,' etc.; the types of the two Indulgences of 1454 are compared with those of the Psalter of 1457 ('Veröffentl.' i, 8, 9, 40, 44, 45; iii, 8). And all this to prove that, though there may be differences between the types in size and form, some of their peculiarities show that they are all the work of one master. Yet, after having read pages of such intricate 'evidence' for attributing books to Gutenberg, you may find doubts expressed as to whether he could, after all, have printed them

[1] Continued from page 211.

(*ibid.* iii, 18). In none of the discussions, in which even the early Dutch incunabula are mixed up (*ibid.* i, 16), is there any systematic arrangement or classification of the types or 'phases' of types. It is true, Dziatzko ('Gutenberg's Druckerpraxis,' pp. 51-53, 60, 61, 64-66, 68) gives valuable tables of letters, contractions, etc., extracted from B36 and B42, for the purpose of showing the great 'likeness' between them. And Zedler has done the same ('Veröffentl.' i.) for the types of the (1) Paris 'Donatus'; (2) 'Astronomical Kalendar'; (3) 'Turk-kalendar'; (4) 'Cisianus'; (5) 'Laxierkalendar'; (6) British Museum 'Donatus' of 27 lines; (7) B36. But his tables are incomplete, omitting, for instance, the combined letters, though he speaks of them at some length (*ibid.* i, 17). And on p. 15 of his treatise on the 'Weltgericht' (*ibid.* iii.) he says that the 'Astronomical Kalendar' for 1448 has only the *i* with a slanting stroke above it (see also *ibid.* i, 7, 8, and Schwenke, *ibid.* ii, 9), though his photograph (*ibid.* i.) shows that it has also an *i* with a bow in li. 2 (*ist*), another in li. 5 (*in*), and other places.

One thing is clear, the 'method' adopted by the chief German bibliographers of the present day in examining, describing and grouping the earliest German incunabula, has buried the subject under a mass of learned dissertations, without enabling us to realize who printed them. Gutenberg is credited with 'fine aesthetic feelings,' various 'conceptions of art, symmetry, harmony, etc.'; but it is difficult to see how he could have executed the large amount of work attributed to him if we

believe the documents that speak of him and his doings (see above Documents No. xiii, and below Nos. xxii, xxiii, xxiv, etc.), from, say, 1442 to his death in 1468, all proving that during these years he was in serious financial difficulties.

As regards Gutenberg's genius and qualities, none of the three authors specially named above seems to have taken into account, during their minute researches, that the art of printing is the development and continuation of the *art of writing* (perhaps more immediately of that of Blockprinting), and that its inventor, whoever he was, invented the moveable metal types, but not the shape and form of his letters, which he modelled, necessarily and as a matter of course, on the handwritings in vogue in his time and locality.

Occasionally they speak of manuscripts having been the models for Gutenberg's types ('Veröffentl.,' i., 20, 21), but at the same moment they represent him as having created independent[1] forms of type for B42 and his other books, and assert that the types of B36 are nothing but a rough imitation of those of B42, though their founder, if he was not Gutenberg, took pains to follow as much as possible Gutenberg's principles (Schwenke, 'Festschr.' p. 81; id. 'Veröffentl.' ii, 27, 30).

[1] Zedler says ('Gutenberg-Forsch.' p. 117): 'The influence of the Schoeffer (!) type of the 31-line Indulgence on the Catholicon-type is unmistakable, only the latter, regarded as a whole, is an entirely independent (!) creation, etc.' (see my remarks on the Catholicon-type, in my 'Haarlem not Mentz,' p. 21). Again (in 'Veröffentl.' iii, 19), 'It certainly took Gutenberg many years of troublesome labour (!) to perfect not only the casting of types, but also a proper system of letters.'

The 'method' of minutely examining and describing types, their varieties and different forms, watermarks, quires, printers' habits, etc., which Dr. Schwenke thinks was initiated and perfected by Dziatzko, may bear some fruit. We have seen above (page 209) how Schwenke's own study of early types enabled him to realize that the 'Missale speciale' could not have been printed in the earliest period of Mainz printing, as it lacks the combinations of letters, and chief and secondary forms of letters, which are characteristic of that early time, but disappear gradually when the type-founders became a little more independent of manuscripts, and dispensed with combinations of letters which caused them more trouble than ordinary insulated forms.

But the 'method' is bound to cause, and is already causing, great confusion in bibliography, by ascribing two or more incunabula to one and the same printer, simply because there is some 'resemblance' between their types, marks of punctuation, paper, watermarks, the arrangement of quires, etc., as Dziatzko did with regard to $B4^2$ and $B36$, while he also attributed the two Letters of Indulgence of 1454-5 to Gutenberg, merely because their small text types *resemble* each other. He even regarded an *x* which he had noticed in a Costerian 'Doctrinale,' as an 'imitation' of the 'Gutenberg' *x* found in $B4^2$ and $B36$ (or of the *x* in the 1457 Psalter, he says), for no other reason than that he saw a resemblance between them.

Schwenke, Zedler, etc., also take a resemblance between types, etc., as their guide, and if they see

a 'likeness' between some of the letters, no differences in the shape and size of the others seem to prevent them from ascribing two or more founts to Gutenberg. These proceedings are disapproved of even in Germany; see 'Literar. Centralbl.' 1902, col. 1405. It is true that something similar is done with respect to the Costerian types, some of which are only linked to the others by a 'family-likeness.' But this family-likeness is not the mere 'resemblance' on the strength of which a number of otherwise dissimilar types are attributed to Gutenberg. The Costerian types stand apart from all others, and yet are linked among themselves, not only by a general striking likeness between them, but also by a characteristic *t* with a perpendicular stroke attached on the right-hand side to its cross-stroke; further, by a minute stroke connecting the signs of contraction with the letters over which they stand (see below, p. 298), and by an equally characteristic *r*, with a small stroke or curl, which are all imitations from indigenous handwritings. The so-called Gutenberg-type (that of B36, a large Gothic or Church- or Missal-type), with its so-called 'phases,' cannot be called peculiar when it is used for Divine Service books, but its large size appears strange when used for a school-book (Donatus) or a Kalendar. In 1461, however, and later, this large type is employed by Albr. Pfister, at Bamberg, for a somewhat similar purpose—that is, a set of popular books. Hence, according to Dziatzko's 'Method,' the Paris Donatus, Weltgericht, Astronomical Kalendar, etc., should be attributed to Pfister, who printed other

books in a similar, if not the identical type, rather than to any other printer. But Schwenke and Zedler, by ascribing an earlier date to the Donatus, etc., separate them from the Pfister books, and ask us (1) to ascribe to Gutenberg three books, said to have been printed between 1443 and 1447, two in the earliest, the third in the second 'phase' of his type; (2) to believe that he printed all the others mentioned in the above list; and (3) that, in manufacturing his 'third' phase of this type (for B36), which is described as a reproduction of the forms of the 'first' and 'second' phases, he 'roughly imitated' the type of B42, which materially differs from that of B36.

If I do not misunderstand them, this is what the arguments of Schwenke and Zedler, based on the 'Dziatzko-Method,' come to, though the latter suggests some other theory as well (see above, p. 210). By thus basing themselves on a 'likeness' between types, they ascribe to Gutenberg a number of types and books (even one which bears the name of Peter Schoeffer in the colophon), because in these books they recognise, they say ('Veröffentl.' i, 49; 'Gutenberg-Forsch.' 76), the 'Gutenbergian' type, which means, from their point of view and according to their 'method,' not that there is any evidence that Gutenberg ever cast or used this type, but that they see in them some features ('simplicity' and the 'total absence of superfluous strokes') which they say are peculiar to Gutenberg.

Gutenberg is praised for his ingenuity and skill in cutting and casting the types of B42, but the scribe

whose manuscript was the model for the peculiarities and contrivances for effecting that symmetry and harmony which are admired in the types is hardly alluded to. Without disparaging the merits of the cutters and founders of the B^{36} and B^{42} types or any other types, much greater praise is due to the scribes who produced the models for them long before the art of cutting and casting types was known, and who formed every letter they produced by hand.

Our three authors appear to have overlooked the late Will. Blades's 'Life and Typography of William Caxton,' published in two volumes in 1861, in which he discusses and exhibits, on the plates xi, xiii, xvi, xviii, xxi, xxiii, all the chief and secondary forms of the letters, and combinations of letters, ever cast and used by Caxton.

On page 31 of Vol. I. Blades explains that

'the first printer, when forming his alphabet, was never troubled as to the shape he should give his letters. The form which would naturally present itself to him would be that to which he and the people to whom he hoped to sell his productions had been accustomed. The types used in the first printed books closely resemble the written characters of the period, and this imitation was extended to all those combinations of letters which were then in use by the scribes. Thus the Psalters and Bibles which appeared in Germany, among the first productions of the press, were printed in the characters used by the scribes for ecclesiastical service books, while more general literature was printed in the common bastard-Roman. . . . Caxton's types bear the closest resemblance to the handwriting in the Mercers' books, and to the volumes of that era in the Archives of Guildhall.'

Blades repeated this in his 'Biography and Typography of W. Caxton,' published in 1877, and again in the second edition of this work published in 1882.

It is true, the printer of B42 worked some fifteen years earlier than Caxton, but he was not, on that account, more original than the latter, because Caxton and his contemporaries still followed that universal custom of the earlier printers (no matter whether we ascribe the origin of the moveable type to Haarlem or to Mainz) of Holland, Germany, Italy, France, etc., of imitating, when casting their types, as closely as possible, the handwriting indigenous to the region (province or town) where they settled. This imitation they extended, as Blades says, not merely to the size and forms of the letters (small or capitals), but to every other feature or characteristic of the letters, the ligatures, signs of contractions, etc., which they found in the manuscripts.

In the same way the Blockbooks and their pictures were nothing but imitations of contemporary manuscripts or those which had preceded them.

This imitation was likewise a matter of course and necessity for the Dutch inventor of printing with moveable metal types; it remained a matter of course and necessity for all the printers who came after him, at Mainz, Bamberg, Strassburg or any other place, and it may no less be observed in the gradual development and changes of the handwritings anterior to printing, from the earliest period and from one generation to another, however

much the writings of one century or one locality may seem to differ from those of another.

After the appearance of Mr. Blades's book, my own researches led me to realize these facts independently, and I called attention to them in 'The Academy' of 11th October, 1884, in the 1888 edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica' (article 'Typography'), and more at length in my 'Haarlem not Mentz,' 1887, pp. 18-23.

Schwenke, therefore, when he said (see above, p. 208 *sq.*) that earlier authors on printing had hardly noticed any of 'Gutenberg's contrivances,' and that Dziatzko was *the first* to point out the differences between the chief and secondary forms of the letters, must have forgotten or overlooked what Blades and I had said as to MSS. having been the models for the earliest types. It is true, neither Blades nor I pursued the subject beyond general observations as to the printers having derived the forms of their types from the MSS. Consequently, I would not describe as superfluous a treatise on the 'contrivances' of the early printers, and the 'chief and secondary forms' of the earliest types. On the contrary, it might, as has been remarked above, be useful and necessary, provided such an enquiry is conducted with the full knowledge that the types are nothing but imitations from manuscripts, and that, therefore, the handwritings are the proper and ultimate bases for research and study of this interesting subject.

This imitation of handwritings by the earliest typefounders is clearly shown by what Zedler calls ('Veröffentl.' I., 34) a 'characteristic peculiarity' of

the types of the earlier Dutch Incunabula—namely, a small, thin, perpendicular stroke,[1] which connects the horizontal strokes or signs of contraction with the letters or types above which it appears. Several instances of it may be seen in his photograph of the Hague 31-line Donatus ('Veröffentl.' I., pl. iv.); exx. gr. 2nd page, li. 2 tamq̄; li. 3 q̄litatis, li. 6 mecū, respōdēdi, etc. Zedler says that this connecting stroke

is not everywhere distinctly visible, though originally, no doubt, it was, as there are examples of each letter which has a stroke of contraction. The original of the Donatus, though it has suffered much, shows this better than even the facsimile. This peculiarity occurs in all the early Donatuses and other Incunabula figured in Holtrop's 'Monuments,'[2] and is a characteristic of the early typographically printed Dutch Incunabula, because nothing is seen of such a connecting stroke in the xylographically printed books. Whenever it is not visible in the Donatus-fragment, it is, no doubt, owing to the type, after

[1] To be precise, this connecting link or stroke is not always perpendicular, but often slanting, and comes down either from the right side of the mark of contraction (which is sometimes a horizontal, sometimes a wavy stroke, and often has the form of a semi-circle) on to the right side of the type, or from the left side of the horizontal stroke, on to the left side of the type. On the *o* and *a* it generally rests on the central point of these letters. In certain cases this link is nothing more than a small point.

[2] See his 10th (a *xylographic* Donatus) to 33rd plate, which all happen to be facsimiles of *Costeriana*, in the well-known Costerian types. On pl. 33b only one or two instances occur. But we have it again on pl. 34 and 35 (Jacob Bellaert, Haarlem, 1483-4), though perhaps not on pl. 36 (Joh. Andreas, Haarlem, 1486). It does not occur in the *Utrecht* Incunabula figured on pl. 37, 38, 39, but Ger. Leempt's (Utrecht) type has it. It is also found on pl. 54, 56, 59 (Louvain), 60, 61 (Bruges), 82 (Delft), 90, 100 (Antwerp); see further plates 106, 110, 111, 113, 122.

casting, having been trimmed, whereby the connecting stroke, required by the nature of the stamp (patrix), was deliberately removed, as militating against the *written* form of the letter. This trimming was necessary, for instance, in the case of *i*, which otherwise would have been indistinct. But even the *i* shows traces of this link, as in *huic* (li. 29), *legenti* (li. 31). When we examine the contemporary Dutch manuscripts, we find nothing (!) analogous to this peculiarity of the printing-type. It would, indeed, be strange if this connecting stroke . . . was based on manuscript custom; it was rather required by the mode of manufacturing the type. The stamp used for the making of the matrix cannot have been a staff, on the lower part of which the letter was cut in an inverted order; it must have consisted of a mere letter without a bottom. Therefore, the material of which it was made was not wood, but metal, that is brass, &c., &c.

If Zedler, before he wrote this, had examined Dutch Blockbooks and Dutch Manuscripts, he would have seen that the peculiarity of which he speaks, far from being absent, is a special feature in them, in the same way as it is in the earliest Dutch Incunabula. It may be seen in nearly every line of the Xylographic pages of the 'Speculum humanae Salvationis,' perhaps not everywhere so clearly as in the three or four typographic editions (Latin and Dutch) of this work, but still plainly enough to show that the woodcutter did his best to copy his manuscript model. It may also be seen in the Dutch Xylographic 'Canticum Canticorum' (see two instances on Plate 10 of Berjeau's edition), and in the Dutch edition of the 'Ars Moriendi'; see Cust's edition, Pl. I[a], or p. 40, 47, last line (nūquā), 49, second line, and traces of the

system on p. 57, li. 18, 20 (quam, quantum), and p. 59. It occurs likewise, not in any haphazard way, but as a regular system, in the Dutch Manuscripts. In July, 1908, I saw in the showcases of the Museum Meerman-Westreenianum at the Hague, five MSS. all having this peculiarity—namely, AA 123 (Latin Breviary, in the Netherlands, c. 1450); AA 187 (Nederl. Getijdenboek, in the Netherlands, 1489); AA 193 (Nederl. Psalter, in the Netherlands, c. 1450); AA 69 (Dietsche Doctrinaal, in the Netherlands, 1374). I saw it likewise in a richly illustrated 'Biblia Pauperum' of the fourteenth century preserved in the same museum.

It is, therefore, not surprising that it was imitated by the printer of the 'Costeriana.' Zedler discusses this point when dealing with some theories as to the more or less defective mode of manufacturing types supposed to have been adopted, as a necessity, by the Inventor of Printing at Haarlem, or by Gutenberg at Mainz (see 'Veröffentl.' i., 22 *sqq.*). One of these theories, advanced by Dziatsko in his treatise on B^{36} and B^{42}, would have it (Zedler, in 'Veröffentl.' i., 30, 47) that the signs of abbreviation, so numerous in early prints (in imitation of the MSS. and Blockbooks), were not cast on the same staff as the letter above which they appear, but separately, and were subsequently fixed, by some mechanism, over the letter. Schwenke ('Veröff.' ii., 5) opposes this theory, though he seems to accept it with regard to the letter *p*, with sign of contraction for 'pro,' in B^{36}, which Zedler ('Veröff.' i., 46) thinks consisted of two types. It seems unnecessary to discuss this theory here; it

militates against all that we see in the early German prints. Anyhow, as regards the Dutch incunabula, it is disposed of by the characteristic peculiarity described above. Another theory regarding the casting of the earliest type, which Zedler discusses at great length, was published a few years ago by the well-known type-founder Dr. Ch. Enschedé, of Haarlem. He called it the 'Abklatsch-Method,' and thought that Gutenberg was led to the invention of this method by seeing one of the earlier Dutch 'Donatuses.' By this method, according to Enschedé, after the patrices and matrices had been manufactured, the types were cast in two operations; first, the letter itself on a small plate, and then a small staff or shank added to it by means of a casting-form. I have dealt with this theory in my article 'Typography' in the 'Encycl. Britannica.' Suffice it to repeat here that the above peculiarity, which is so conspicuous in the early Dutch types (and also in the Dutch Blockbooks), is a faithful imitation of the same peculiarity in the Dutch handwritings, and for this reason cannot be attributed to any imperfect mechanism of the early Dutch typefounders.

To return to the B^{36} and B^{42} types, there is nothing in them to lead us to think, or to assume, that the former was an imitation of the B^{42} type, or *vice versâ*. Both are clearly independent imitations of two different but unmistakably 'Gothic' manuscripts. This script, which may also be called the ornamental Gothic or *Church-hand*, has been employed for ages for Bibles, Missals, and other ecclesiastical books, and is fully developed in the B^{42}

and B36 types. It begins to make its appearance in the tenth century, if not earlier, and runs its course till long after the invention of printing.[1] Its beginning, development, and perfection may be clearly traced by the facsimiles in the 3rd Volume of 'The (London) Palaeographical Society,' plates 32 (Charter of 966), 35 (Benedictional, c. 963-984), 54 (Bible, twelfth century), 60 (Bible, thirteenth century), 65 (Psalter, A.D. 1284, with fine strokes as in the Cambridge MSS. mentioned above), 67 (Somme le Roi, c. 1300), 72 (Psalter, early fourteenth century), 75 (Psalter, c. 1339), 78 (French Coronation Service, 1365), 86 (Horace, 1391), 95 (Burgundian Breviary, c. 1419), 100 (Psalter, 1442), 106 (Breviary, c. 1500). Also by facsimiles in the 2nd Volume of the same Society's Second Series, as 18 (1158), 20 (twelfth century), 23 (1218), 25-27 (1269, etc.), 29 (1322), 32 (1330), 42-44 (early fifteenth century), 48 (*id.*), 54 (1446),

[1] In the Cambridge University Library (pressmark Dd. 7. 1, 2) are two large folio volumes, the writing of which (ascribed in the Catalogue to the somewhat late date 1490) resembles the type of B42 so much, that at first sight one might mistake them for copies of this Bible. It has all the (primary and secondary) forms of letters, all the combinations of letters, and all the contractions above and through certain letters, which Dziatzko (*l. c.*) and Schwenke ('Festschrift') have selected from B36 and B42, and figured in their texts and on separate plates. The capitals in these MSS. differ only slightly from those of B42, less than the latter differ from those of B36. The small letters of the MSS. resemble in every respect those of B42, except that many letters of the former end in or begin with a fine stroke, which also does duty to mark the *i*. Generally speaking, the writing of these MSS. resembles the type of B42 much more than the B36 type resembles that of B42. But would anyone ascribe these MSS. to 'Gutenberg' or to his 'school'?

63; Franz Steffens, III. 83 (fourteenth century), 87 (1404), 88 (1410), etc., all showing that the printers of B36 and B42, in engraving and casting their types, exercised no 'inventive' or 'creating' genius, but merely imitated the writing of one or other of the manuscript Bibles or Missals, which were ready at their hands, in the same way as the block printers before them imitated handwritings in cutting their blocks for their texts and pictures. The MSS. referred to above, all written between circa 963 and 1500—that is, for the most part before Gutenberg's appearance as an artisan or a would-be printer—show the same 'contrivances' and the same 'chief and secondary forms' as the books ascribed to him. It is, therefore, not surprising that there is a 'resemblance' between the types of B42 and B36, just as there is between the various scripts mentioned above. The capitals of the two types, however, differ materially from each other in form and size, and so do the small (lower-case) letters, the signs of interpunction, etc., though, perhaps, to a less extent. But we could hardly assume that for the latter the founder of the B36 types took B42 as his model, when it is evident that for his *capitals* he must have had another (that is, a MS.) model.

On this ground alone we may safely treat B42 and B36 as two separate works of two different printers.

Nor can the arrangement of the two Bibles in quires of the same number of (ten) sheets, nor their division into Volumes at the same place, nor the identity of paper and watermarks in both, be

taken as evidence that they were printed by one and the same printer, as the manuscript models of that period were similarly arranged. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the same kind of paper which was bought (at Mainz ?) by the printer of B42, was not purchasable at another place by another printer.

But even if all these resemblances and coincidences could be considered as evidence regarding the printer or printers of the two Bibles, on bibliographical grounds (already mentioned on p. 166 of my 'Gutenberg') we must attribute B42 to Peter Schoeffer.

He used the B42 type probably before 1457 (not long after B42 had been issued), in printing a 'Donatus' of 35 lines, which bears his name in the colophon: 'per Petrum de gernssheym, in urbe Moguntina cum suis capitalibus'[1] (see II.b, 7, of the above list, and my 'Gutenberg,' p. 171). The employment of these *capitals* in the Psalters of 1457 and 1459, in the colophons of which Fust and Schoeffer print their names, links them on to the 'Donatus.' Some authors contend that, as Schoeffer does not mention Fust in the colophon

[1] These last three words cannot mean 'with *its* capitals' (that is, of the Donatus), as some authors interpret them, but 'with *his* capitals,' that is, 'of (the printer) Peter de Gernssheym.' Schoeffer, in his colophons, repeatedly uses the somewhat analogous expression: '*suis* consignando scutis,' in the Iustinianus of 26th Jan., 1475, 23rd May, 1476, 21st Aug., 1477; the Bernardus of 14th April, 1475; the Clemens of 10th Sept., 1476; the Horborch of 4th Jan., 1477; the Paulus of 7th Jan., 1478; the Breslau Missal of 24th July, 1483. Here *suis* could not possibly be translated by *its*, or mean that the shields were the book's shields.

of the 'Donatus,' he must have printed it after Fust's death in 1466. But the sequence of Schoeffer's work, in connection with *his capitals*, is this:

1457-1466 he prints in partnership with Joh. Fust; 1467 he prints alone;
1457 and 1459 (August) he issues the Psalter with the capitals *printed* in colours;
1459 (Oct.) the Durandus, with the capitals *printed* (but in some copies only) in colours;
1460 the Clementinae without *printed* capitals;
1460-1489 *no printed* capitals in books;
1490 and 1502 the Psalter is reprinted, with the *printed* capitals (as an antiquarian reprint). No books are known after this date with printed capitals.

Seeing, therefore, that Gernsheym's *capitals* occur only in the first two dated books and some copies of the third, and in none of the subsequent books, except the merely antiquarian reprints of the Psalter in 1490 and 1502, it is more consonant to method to place the 'Donatus' before 1457, that is in 1456, together with B4[2] printed in the same type and probably issued the same year. For other Donatuses (of 26, 32 and 33 lines) printed in the same type, perhaps before that of 35 lines, see the above list and my 'Gutenberg,' p. 168 sqq.

For bibliographical reasons also, we must ascribe the 30-line Indulgence of 1454-5 to Peter Schoeffer. Its two headlines to the two forms of absolution (*Forma plenissime absolutionis*, etc.), and three or four other words (*Paulinus; Misereatur*, etc.) are printed, for the sake of distinction, in a (Church or Missal)

larger type than the bastard Roman type employed for its text. It is doubtful whether this large type is identical with that used for B42. It is known that the *P* of the Indulgence (in the word Paulinus) differs from the *P* in B42. I also fail to find the capital F of the Indulgence in any of Schwenke's facsimiles of B42 (in 'Festschrift'), or in his tables at pp. 32, 33. Even the F, which he gives (among the capitals in li. 3) as a later form in B42, differs from the Indulgence F, though its straight left top much resembles it.

Moreover, the semi-bows and slanting strokes above the *i*'s in the Indulgence[1] differ from those in (the first impressions of) B42, but less in the latter's final type, though it is hard to see how this final type could differ in *form* from its former two states (B40 and B41), if we accept the filing-down theory. This Church-type would seem to have been specially cast for the 30-line Indulence, just as the Church-type of the 31-line Indulgence seems to have been specially manufactured for this one document, as certain of its letters appear also to differ from the B36 types.

And as neither of the small or brief-types used for the texts of these two Indulgences have been traced in any other work, it seems not unreasonable

[1] Long after this had been written, I noticed that Schwenke ('Festschrift,' p. 58) had already observed these differences. But when he says that he would ascribe the Indulgence type to the founder of that of B42 on account of the *similarity* between the two, I cannot agree with him. A similarity between types is no evidence; I ascribe the two types to Schoeffer on bibliographical grounds.

to suppose that the four kinds of types employed for these two broadsides were exclusively cut and cast for them, and, for some reason or another, discarded afterwards. Anyhow, on bibliographical grounds, it is certain that Peter Schoeffer printed the 30-line Indulgence, as the initial M of its *first* absolution is identical with the initial M of the *second* absolution in a 33-line Indulgence unquestionably printed by him and issued in 1489, at the order of Pope Innocent VIII., by 'Raymundus Peyraudi archidiaconus Alnisiensis in ecclesia Xanton pro tuicione orthodoxe fidei contra Turchos' (copies of which are in the British Museum, and the Culemann collection at Hanover; see my 'Gutenberg,' p. 166). Therefore, whether we regard the Church-type used in the 30-line Indulgence as identical with that of B42 or not, the printing of the document must be ascribed to Peter Schoeffer.

And hence, if bibliographical rules and documentary evidence carry any weight, B42 and the books printed in the same type, together with the 30-line Indulgence and its two types (all mentioned in List B), must be attributed to Peter Schoeffer, and not to Gutenberg or any other printer.

As regards the types and books in the above List A, our course is not so clear as with the books in List B; firstly, it is not easy to examine the types of the 'Weltgericht,' and the Paris 'Donatus,' as the photographs of them, published by the Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, are none too clear, probably because the condition of the documents is unfavourable to photographic action. Secondly,

that of the 'Donatus' is reduced in size, so that we can neither measure nor minutely examine its types. Thirdly, the text of the 'Donatus' is in Latin, that of the 'Weltgericht' (of which no more than 22 lines are preserved) in German, which latter language requires some letters, combination or letters, contractions, etc., which are never or rarely employed in a Latin book, and *vice versa*. However, the similarity between the forms and size of their types may easily lead bibliographers to consider them identical. Zedler draws attention ('Veröffentl.' iii., p. 10 *sqq.*) to two *i*'s and two *b*'s, which slightly differ in form, but all occur, he says, in the 'Weltgericht' as well as in the 'Donatus,' wherefore he thinks that the two works are printed in one and the same type. He likewise minutely describes (*ibid.*, p. 13 *sqq.*, i., 16) seven different *i*'s, all observed by him in the 'Weltgericht,' the 'Donatus,' the Astronomical Kalendar, the Turk-kalendar, the Laxier-kalendar, etc. For the seventh, he says, Gutenberg had made a *special matrix*, and four of the *i*'s he regards as 'developments' (therefore, not as 'identical') of the type (p. 14), while he takes the differences between them as a guide to the chronological order to be assigned to the books attributed to Gutenberg.

It has already been remarked above (p. 201) that, if the Helmasperger document is genuine, Gutenberg could not have begun to print before 1450, as in that year he, by his own admission, borrowed money, not for 'printing' anything, but for 'making tools' or an 'apparatus.' The authors of the Gutenberg-Gesellschaft, however, contend

that Gutenberg intended to prepare these 'tools' for B42, but that he had already printed various works before 1450. They place the 'Weltgericht' c. 1443, the Paris 'Donatus' before 1444 or shortly after, and the Astronomical Kalendar at the end of 1447, and profess to prove that the first two books are in the 'first phase,' the third in the 'second phase' of Gutenberg's oldest type. But is is difficult to accept these assertions, as the contraction for *us* (9), the dots, small horizontal marks and bows over the *i*'s and the *V* (used as *U* and *V*) in the 'Donatus,' when compared with the same signs or letters in the Astronomical Kalendar, make it clear that the types of these two works differ from each other, and that, though *resembling* each other, they cannot, on account of small but material differences in form and size, be described as two 'phases' or 'developments' of one and the same type. And types materially differing from each other in form and size cannot have been cast from the same patrices and matrices. In this case the differences can be attributed neither to the worn-out condition of the 'Donatus' (see 'Veröffentl.' i., 16), nor to the freshness of the Kalendar-type. For instance: the contraction for *us* (9) in the Kalendar cannot have been cast from the patrix and matrix used for manufacturing the same sign for the 'Donatus,' as the former is longer and thinner than that of the 'Donatus,' and has a more angular top than the latter, which is perfectly round (°). Nor could the *i*'s of the Kalendar, with dots or small horizontal marks or bows at a material distance from their top, have been cast

from the patrices and matrices used for the *i*'s or the 'Donatus,' which have these marks much closer to their top.

Another feature in the evidence of Schwenke ('Centralbl.,' 1901, p. 290 *sqq.*) and Zedler is a tall *t* in the Turk-kalendar for 1455, which is preceded, in all words where two *t*'s come together, by an ordinary shorter *t*; *exx.gr.* 'bittern' (Wyss' ed., Taf. 31[a], li. 6); gelitten . . . erstritten (*ibid.*, li. 8), and various other words (*ibid.*, Taf. 31[b], li. 15; 32[a], li. 13; 32[b], li. 17, etc.). The second *t* overtops the first *t*, and its left side is straight, apparently so made that it might not interfere with the crossbar of the first. In some cases the two *t*'s seem to form a ligature (Taf. 31[a], li. 8, erstritten), but in the majority of cases they are disconnected, and do not always range in the line; cf. mittage (31[b], li. 15), dritte (32[a], li. 13).

Both authors point to a somewhat similar *t* in the Paris 'Donatus,' exclusively preceded by *c*, though the two do not seem to be a ligature; see Zedler's Facs., in 'Veröffentl.' i., Taf. II.[a], li. 4 (produ*ct*a), 6 (produ*ct*am), 9 (A*ct*iua), 11 (a*ct*iua), and in other words (*ibid.*, li. 12, 14, 16, 24, 25; Taf. III.[b], li. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, etc.). But the lengthened *t* of the Turk-kalendar cannot typographically be called a 'phase' or a 'development' of the lengthened *t* of the 'Donatus,' as the two differ in form and size; nor can the two *t*'s have been cast from the same matrix, that of the Turk-kalendar being larger than that of the 'Donatus.' It is to be observed that there is no trace of this peculiar *t* in the Astronomical Kalendar, though there were

occasions for using it, as in mittage (2nd February); dritten . . . mittage (1st April).

An examination of the types of the 'Weltgericht' is more difficult, as we have only a small portion (recto and verso) of one leaf. Each side contains no more than eleven lines, of which the first are slightly cropped by the binder. Ten lines measure 8·1 cm. (= $8\frac{1}{10}$ mm. to a line); or 8·2 cm. from the foot of the upper (truncated) line. The facsimiles of the Paris 'Donatus' being on a reduced scale, the height or the width of the lines cannot be measured. But ten lines (of January) of the Astron. Kalendar measure 8·3 cm.; of March and April, 8·2 cm.

Some of the letters in both documents, as *h*, *g*, *l*, especially the bows on the letter *i*, also show that those of the 'Weltgericht' differ from those in the 'Donatus.' Therefore, if these differences, observable in the photographs, do exist in the originals, then the 'Weltgericht,' the Paris 'Donatus,' the Astronomical Kalendar, and the Turk-kalendar of 1455, are printed in four different types, which may have been used or manufactured by one and the same printer, but are not, and cannot be called, phases of one and the same type, or developments of one original type.

The above List A shows that (apart from the types and books in List B) six types (I., II., V., VI., VII., VIII.) are attributed to Gutenberg, and about four-and-twenty different works, not to mention the 'many experiments' which, according to Zedler, must have preceded Gutenberg's 'masterly' printed Kalendar of 1447, nor the 'many

experiments' which, according to Schwenke, must have preceded B42. Of type I. (called sometimes the 'Gutenberg,' sometimes the B36 type), three 'phases' or 'varieties' (ia, ib and ic) are said to exist. For reasons stated above, however, they cannot be taken as such, as they are really three different types, and must, therefore, from a bibliographical and typographical point of view, be kept separate, even if the differences between them were smaller than they really are. Moreover, in the absence of all evidence of their having been used by one and the same printer, they must be ascribed to three different printers. Zedler tells us, that Alb. Pfister bought the B36 type from Gutenberg at a high price, continued to use it at Mainz, and had afterwards, while still there, a new fount made of it (by Gutenberg), with certain patrices and matrices modified. But there is no authority for this assertion, which is, moreover, incompatible with the Helmasperger document. Hence, after ascribing, on clear bibliographical evidence, B42, and the eight other works of List B, to Peter Schoeffer, Gutenberg would still be credited with having manufactured no fewer than *eight*[1] *different* types (i. the 'Donatus' type; ii. the 'Kalendar' type; iii. the

[1] Zedler ('Veröffentl.' i., Taf. XIII.) gives tracings of *seven* different 'phases' of the oldest (!) Gutenberg-type (i. the 'Donatus' type; iia, the 'Kalendar' type; iib, the 'Turk-kalendar' type; iic, the 'Cisianus' type; iid, the Laxierkalendar type; iie, the London 27-line 'Donatus' type; iii. the B36 type). If now we add to these seven the two types of the 31-line Indulgence, the two of the Psalter and that of the 'Catholicon,' Gutenberg is credited with *twelve* types, not to speak of the three ascribed above on safe grounds to Schoeffer.

Church type and iv. the text type of the 31-line Indulgence; v. the B^{36} type; vi. and vii., the large and small types of the Psalter of 1457; viii. the Catholicon type), and with having printed at least twenty-four different works, including a large folio Bible (B^{36}) in two volumes, the large folio 'Catholicon' and other important works. Schwenke, indeed, thinks that some unknown printer printed B^{36}, but—in Gutenberg's printing office.

J. H. Hessels.

(To be continued.)

FISHER'S SERMON AGAINST LUTHER.

IN the Auction Catalogue of books belonging to the late Professor S. H. Butcher, M.P., sold at Cambridge the 25th of May, 1911, was this item:

'Fysher's Sermon against Luther, Wynkyn de Worde, black-letter, N.D., 4to, morocco.'

I did not see the copy until the day before the sale. On examination I found it to be imperfect, and that it was included with other lots of books, which formerly belonged to the late Professor John E. B. Mayor, whose library was sold at Cambridge in March previously.

That evening I looked up various authorities, and found in Mr. E. Gordon Duff's list of Wynkyn de Worde's books (in 'Handlists of English Printers,' part i., 1895) amongst the 'Undated books, 1501-1535,' the following:

Fisher against Luther	4to.	B. M.
Fisher aganist Luther	4to.	B. M.

Consulting library catalogues I then found that the Cambridge University Library possessed a copy in the Samuel Sandars Collection, The entries in the

British Museum Catalogue state that their two copies varied. In the Cambridge University Library Catalogue (I. 49) 'B. M. 524' is placed against their copy.

Whilst examining the other lots in this sale I came across a portfolio of odds and ends, and in it found some facsimiles which I thought were of the same work.

At the sale I purchased the Sermon of Bishop Fisher, and also the portfolio of odds and ends.

Examining the Sermon I was puzzled to find it agreed with no description of the work as printed by Wynkyn de Worde. I had the description (1) of the two editions in the British Museum Catalogue, where two varying issues are given, and (2) of the copy in the Cambridge University Library Catalogue.

The title given in the Cambridge University Library Catalogue differed from the first one mentioned in the British Museum Catalogue, and I therefore concluded that the Cambridge copy was the 'another edition' mentioned in the British Museum Catalogue.

Then remembering the portfolio of odds and ends, I secured a copy of the facsimile contained therein, and, to my surprise, found it agreed with neither of the copies whose titles were given in the two catalogues mentioned, by reason of the variances of the letterpress. And as I could see through the facsimile part of the British Museum stamp at the back of the title-page, I concluded that it was a facsimile of the 'another edition' mentioned in their catalogue. This left the issues thus:

1. The edition described in the British Museum Catalogue.
2. The 'other edition' in the British Museum Catalogue, represented by the photographic facsimile I possessed.
3. The copy in the Cambridge University Library.

The copy in the Cambridge University Library agrees more with No. I, with the following variances:

B. M.	again	doctryn	assygnement.	Cardynal.
C. U. L.	agayn	doctryne	assingnement.	Cardinal.

But all this did not help to identify my copy, and I was intending to write to someone at the British Museum about it, when I casually looked up my own Index to Hazlitt's Collections and Notes, noted one reference to Fisher's Sermon, looked it up, and found to my great surprise the title-page of my copy accurately given from Herbert's Ames, and with the imprint of Thomas Berthelet! I looked in Herbert's Ames, and found the description there given, agreeing with my copy, was taken from a copy in Herbert's possession.

Failing to find a copy described I turned to Mr. W. W. Greg's list of Berthelet's 'Undated Books' (in 'Handlists of English Printers,' part iii., 1905), and found

> 'Fisher. Sermon at St. Paul's, 11 Feb. 1525. 1529 (?) 4to. Bodl.'

The date 11 Feb. 1525 does not appear on the Sermon.

As this was the only copy I could find, I wrote to Mr. F. Madan, at the Bodleian, giving a few rough notes, and he kindly answered, giving me a 'test' which I found differed in my copy. I may say now that the Bodleian copy formerly belonged to Herbert.

I then sent the copy to him for examination, and his reply (3rd of June) is, 'They are different issues. . . . Every sheet differs in small details, and I think yours is the earlier,' and then quoted certain variances from which could be drawn the conclusion that mine is the earlier issue. Also, of the four different border-pieces round the title-page, the one used at the top of my issue is used at the foot of the Bodleian copy, and the bottom block in mine is at the top of the Bodleian copy. A few variances noted are:

	Mine.	Bodleian.
A 3^{r} 9th l. from foot	saint	saynt
B 4^{r} 12th l. from foot	secõde . . . muste	seconde . . . must
G 3^{v} l. 16	sowerh	soweth

The Bodleian copy consists of signatures A-H^{4}; mine consists of A-F^{4}, G$^{ii \& iii}$. G$^{i \& iv}$ and H are wanting.

Such is the hunt I have had to fix the edition of the work so casually purchased, sent in the wrong direction by the lettering of the volume, where it is definitely stated, 'Wynkyn de Worde.' The copy has all the appearance of having been found in the binding of some book, and has been most skilfully mended, and bound by F. Bedford. The

autograph of 'John S. Wood, A.D. 1879' appears on the end-paper. I think Spicer Wood was Librarian of St. John's College, Cambridge, and he it was, no doubt, who had the work bound. It is a great pity he did not place on record where these sheets came from.

The result of this interesting hunt can be summed up as follows:

(1) Instead of two undated issues of Fisher's Sermon printed by Wynkyn de Worde, we have three—two at the British Museum and one at the Cambridge University Library—all unique.

(2) Instead of one undated issue printed by Thomas Berthelet, we have two—one at the Bodleian, and one (imperfect) not yet placed—both unique.

With regard to the date of printing (1529?) in Mr. Greg's list, I should like to know when this Sermon was preached. In the article on Fisher in the D. N. B. is the statement: 'He preached in the vernacular, before Wolsey and Warham, at Paul's Cross, on the occasion of the burning of the reformer's writings in the churchyard (12 May, 1521), a discourse which was severely handled by William Tyndale.' The title of the Sermon says it was preached on Quinquagesima Sunday. This could not have been in May. Is the D. N. B. right, and, if so, does it refer to this or to another Sermon of Fisher's against Luther?

G. J. GRAY.

'THE ATHEIST CONVERTED.'

THE FIRST BOOK PRINTED IN LINCOLN.

'THE ATHEIST CONVERTED' is one of the quaintest productions of the journeymen poets whose rhymes amused or instructed our forefathers in ballads or chap-books. The earliest known edition, a duodecimo of twelve pages, is also notable because, so far as has been ascertained, it is the first effort of the press in the city of Lincoln, in whose Public Library a copy is preserved.

As was then the fashion the title-page furnishes an ample bill of fare, and reads:

'The/Atheist/Converted/or/The Unbeliever's/Eyes open'd./Being/A full and true Account of one Mr. Wright, a Gentle-/man, living in the Island of Guernsey, who was/a profest Atheist, and would not suffer his children to go to/to Church, and how he was converted by his little/Daughter of ten Years of Age./The following is the text of his Funeral sermon preach'd/by the Rev. Dr. Dry. from Psalm the 50th, Ver. 14./I will teach thy ways to the Unjust, and the Wicked shall/be converted to thee./Lincoln:/Printed and sold by W. Wood./In the Year MDCCXLVIII.'

There is a copy of a much later edition in Harvard University Library, in which the preacher

has the less allegorical style of 'The Rev. Dr. Jones.'

The Lincoln booklet is a curiosity. In doggerel rhymes we are told that one Sunday as the congregations were returning from the services,

> 'Unto her Father thus the child did say,
> Why dy (sic) these People go to Church I pray?
> Why will you not let me go in to see
> What they do there? I'd fain a Christian be.
> With threatening words the Father did reply,
> The moment you go there you sure shall die,
> Such superstitious Folly I disdain.
> For I know that all things by Nature came.'

The story is divided into six parts, and supplied with prose arguments. Thus: 'Part Second. How the child being disturb'd in her Mind went wandering in the Fields, where seeing the Flowers springing, and the birds singing she consulted (sic) there must be a God, tho' her Father told her to the contrary.'

Then an angel appears, and directs her to go to a village where a pious family would care for her religious education.

'Part Third. How this Child as she was reading the 27th of St. Matthew's Gospel mediating (sic) on our Saviour's Passion her Father came to her and tore the Book out of her Hand and beat her in a most cruel Manner, and turn'd her out of door. Part Four. How the Devil appeared to the Child, proffering her two purses of Guineas to curse her Father and take his Council, but the Child instead of accepting the golden Bate (sic), instanly fell down on her knees to pray. Part

Fifth. Shewing how her Father confin'd her in a Garrat, allowed her nothing to live on but Bread and Water. Part Sixth. Shewing how the Ghost of the eldest son appeared to his Father, and declared to him the Torments of Hell.' This Dantean vision affected Mr. Wright's conversion, and

'None but the Child must his companion be,
They spent their time in Prayer constantly;
In three Months time her Father sick then fell,
And bid this sinful World indeed farewell.

'Two thousand Pounds he left his Daughter fair,
Who, tho' she's young in tender years,
Is very charitable to the Poor,
Her daily thirst is after heavenly store.'

So ends this remarkable 'poem,' which is decorated by seven woodcuts which, as usual in chap-books, seem to have little connection with the text they are supposed to illustrate.

There is another edition, printed about 1790, in which some curious changes have been made in the title, which reads:

'The Atheist converted; or the Unbeliever's Eyes opened. Giving a full and true Account of one Mr. Wright, a gentleman at Liverpool in Lancashire, who was a professed Atheist, and would not let his children go to Church, told them all things came by Nature. How an angel appeared to his daughter about ten years of age, telling her to go to a family at the next village, who would instruct her in the Scriptures. How her father finds her in the garden with a little book in her hand at prayer, banish'd her from his house. She was sitting in a Grove. The devil came in human shape,

tempting her to curse her Father, and he would give her a purse of Gold. How she resisted the temptation, and converted him to Christianity. Being proper to be had by all families.

'Price one Penny: or given for Linen.'

It will be seen that Mr. Wright has removed his residence from the island of Guernsey to the populous and prosperous city of Liverpool.[1] There is a copy of the Liverpool story in the British Museum (Pressmark: 1075. l. 25/4). Mr. Wright suffered a further translation and removal back to the Channel Islands, as will be seen by this entry of a Welsh version in the catalogue of the British Museum (Pressmark: 872. d. 52/3):

'Troeadigaeth yr Atheist, neu lygaid yr angrhedadyn wedi ei hagor. Gan roddi . . . hanes un Mr. Wright . . . yr hwn oedd yn bwy'n Nhref Guernsey . . . Trefriw (1820). 12° pp. 8.'

We may now leave 'The Atheist Converted' in the peaceful recesses of his island home.

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

[1] A notice of this edition appeared in the 'Liverpool Daily Post,' 17th April, 1911.

THE RED PRINTING IN THE 1611 BIBLE.

THE article by Mr. Horace Hart on 'The Red Printing in the 1611 Bible,' in the April number of the 'LIBRARY,' is of great interest to all those bibliographers who care for an exact knowledge of how the early printers worked, but, rash as it may seem to differ from so great an authority on practical printing, I venture to question whether he has not in certain respects been too much influenced by his familiarity with modern methods of work. Little seems to have been written about red printing in the seventeenth century, but there has been a certain amount of discussion of the methods followed at a somewhat earlier date, and there is now, I believe, little difference of opinion regarding them.[1] I wish to suggest that the printer of the 1611 Bible worked on exactly the same lines as his predecessors.

The usual process of printing in red and black

[1] At any rate as regards the second half of the sixteenth century. The process is described in Mr. Robert Steele's 'Earliest English Music Printing,' 1903, pp. 4-5. There is considerable doubt as to how some of the earliest printing in two or more colours was done; *cf.* R. M. Burch, 'Colour Printing,' 1910, pp. 4-6.

during the sixteenth century seems to have been as follows: [1]

1. The printer set up and proved the whole forme, red and black together.

2. He then cut out a frisket so as to allow only the red to print.[2] The soft packing used in the tympan would drive the paper down sufficiently to allow it to reach the type through the holes in the frisket. [3]

[1] Leaving out of account the possibility of the forme having sometimes been dissected according to the method most commonly employed now-a-days. It has been stated that this method was also used, but the evidence for it does not seem to be conclusive. Irregularities in the casting of the type and in the furniture would, one might suppose, have made it difficult to obtain perfect register from two formes.

[2] A number of frisket sheets used in printing certain sixteenth century service-books were found some years ago by Mr. Robert Steele. I am indebted to Mr. R. A. Peddie for showing me one of them now in the Technical Library of the St. Bride's Foundation. From their condition Mr. Steele infers that the printer inked the whole forme with red ink, not merely the immediate neighbourhood of the red words, as one might have supposed. The method seems wasteful of ink, besides being very messy, and one would have expected the ink to creep along the edges of the frisket holes and impress the outline of them on the paper, unless, indeed, ink was used which dried extremely quickly. More might perhaps be learnt from these frisket sheets if the work in the production of which they were used could be identified. Of a suggested alternative method—namely, inking through a similarly cut stencil or mask—I have seen no evidence, but as the inking was done by balls, it might have been a workable plan, and there would have been no difficulty in devising an attachment so that such a stencil could be quickly placed in position for each inking.

[3] It may be remarked that the underlaying method described by Mr. Hart necessitates the paper being driven down at least as much, for otherwise how did the rules, etc., which were not underlayed, contrive to print?

3. The red having been printed, the forme was cleaned and the portions that had been printed in red were taken out, and the spaces left by them were filled with quads. The frisket was also removed.

4. What was left of the forme was then inked with black ink, and the sheets were run through again.

The points of difference in the method described by Mr. Hart are: (1) That, according to him, the black was printed first; (2) that underlays were used to bring up first the black and then the red above type height; (3) that the red portions remained in the forme throughout the whole process.

To take these in their order. Whether the red or the black was printed first can often be determined by examination, for unless the register is quite perfect it will usually be found that here and there one ink is on the top of the other. In the case of many sixteenth century books it is quite clear that the black ink is on the top of the red, and that the red, therefore, must have been printed first.[1] I believe that if Mr. Hart will have another look at the 1611 Bible he will find that this is the case there also. In a copy which I have examined at the British Museum the black seems to be quite clearly on the top, and Dr. Greg tells me that the same is true of a copy which he has examined at Cambridge.

[1] I have not come across any book in which the black appears to have been printed first; but, of course, if a forme was to be principally in red, with only a few black words here and there, one would expect the usual order to be reversed.

That underlaying was not *necessary* may be seen by inspection of some of the folio Bibles printed by Barker towards the end of the sixteenth century.[1] These have a woodcut border to the title and, at the end of the preliminary matter, a full-page woodcut of Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. Parts of both these woodcuts, such as the royal emblems and the hair of the *putti* in the corners of the title-page, and the faces of the lions, etc., in the Garden of Eden, are printed both in red and black. The slight error in register causes the red lines to appear alongside the black, producing a peculiar brown or bronze-like effect. In this case underlaying was obviously impossible, for the parts printed in red and black are on the same block as those printed in black alone, and, therefore, cannot have been raised above the general level. Underlaying is a troublesome process, and if the printer could do without it in this case, why not in others?

That the red portions were removed after the first printing seems to me to be deducible from a careful examination of the calendar of almost any red and black Bible of the time—including that of 1611. When horizontal rules print accidentally both in red and black, it will, I think, almost always be found that, on any one page, the red lines are either all above or all below the black ones, showing that the arrangement of the forme

[1] I may refer to the one dated 1591. This has the interesting peculiarity that in the heading of August in the calendar the month was first stated (in red) to have xxx. days. In the black printing a j was printed over the full-stop of the xxx.

has not been disturbed vertically. In the case of vertical rules printing in both colours, however, we very frequently find that the red line appears sometimes to the right and sometimes to the left of the black one,[1] showing that there has been some lateral disturbance of the forme between the two printings. Now, surely, this is just what would happen if the red words or letters had been taken out, and the quads, or spaces, inserted to fill up the room of each had not exactly done so[2]; and otherwise it seems difficult to account for. Further, the red portions seem never to be partially duplicated in black ink, as the black portions are in red. If they remained in the forme during the whole process it is not easy to understand this, especially as these red portions are generally surrounded by black, and the use of a frisket to prevent them from printing is therefore out of the question.

R. B. McKerrow.

[1] Even when on any one page all the red lines appear on the same side of the black ones, the space between them will generally be found to vary considerably.

[2] If, I mean, in filling up the spaces left by two or more red words in a line the printer had put rather too much in one space and too little in another, so that the intervening portions of the line were moved to left or right. Of course the *total* amount inserted would have had to be equal to the total length of the words removed.

REVIEWS.

The Golden-Latin Gospels in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan, formerly known as the Hamilton Gospels and sometimes as King Henry the VIII.'s Gospels. Now edited for the first time with critical introduction and notes, and accompanied by four full-page facsimiles. By H. C. Hoskier. New York. Privately printed. 1910. *Folio. pp. cxvi.*, 363.

THIS handsome book owes its origin to an offer by Mr. Hoskier to collate, for the Commission (presided over by Abbot Gasquet) for re-establishing the true text of S. Jerome's translation of the Gospels, a fine manuscript now in the possession of Mr. J. P. Morgan. The manuscript is written in letters of gold on purple vellum, and was undoubtedly prepared for presentation to some person of rank, or some other very special purpose. It belonged at one time to Henry VIII., but found its way into the Duke of Hamilton's collection, was purchased with other Hamilton manuscripts *en bloc* by the German Government, resold and bought by Quaritch, who found a customer for it in an American collector, from whom it passed, like so many other fine books, to Mr. Morgan's library. Mr. Hoskier's collation is now printed with an elaborate introduction and four plates, two of them reproducing the purple and gold of the original.

In his collation Mr. Hoskier has not confined himself to indicating how the Morgan manuscript differs from the Clementine text. He has collated also the texts, published or unpublished, of a number of other manuscripts of the Gospels, and has drawn up tables to show with which group of manuscripts that of Mr. Morgan agrees, and in respect to which readings. As soon as collation is carried to this point the way is cleared for very fascinating, but at the same time very hazardous, inferences as to the history and genealogy of the manuscript according to the combinations of different readings which it contains. The drawing of inferences from these combinations must be reckoned as hazardous, because every scribe who copied an existing text of the Gospels probably knew the Latin pretty well by heart in some text on which he had been brought up, and the extent to which the text which he had in his head may have caused him to modify the text which he was copying defies all calculation. The longer the pedigree which it is sought to assign to any manuscript the more these uncertainties must be multiplied by each other, so that the compilation of a genealogical tree, such as Mr. Hoskier bravely constructs, seems to us more interesting than convincing. Such small experience as the present writer has gained in dealing with Chaucer texts has inspired him with a profound distrust of all genealogies. The earliest extant Chaucer manuscripts must date from only a very few years after the poet's death, and yet they present problems which so far have defied

solution. Of course scribes would approach the copying of the Gospels with much more reverence than Chaucer's copyists, from Adam Scrivener downwards, seem to have felt for his verses. But what we may call their external or independent knowledge of the text would be much closer, and this, with the substitution of centuries for decades in the length of the pedigree, fills us with distrust. It is only fair to Mr. Hoskier to note that he repudiates the mechanical use of test passages; nevertheless the pedigree in which he traces his manuscript to a 'parent' written under Graeco-Syriac influences about 200 A.D., and suggests, with approximate dates, the influences by which it was subsequently affected, seems to run far in advance of safe deduction.

In another respect his introduction appears hardly likely to win assent. In a life of S. Wilfred, Archbishop of York (*d.* 709) there is an account of how he caused a manuscript to be written in letters of gold on purple vellum and gorgeously bound, and the theory had long ago been put forward by Wattenbach that these Hamilton-Morgan Gospels might be identified with this manuscript written by S. Wilfred's order. The theory has not won acceptance, and Mr. Hoskier himself can hardly be said to support it whole-heartedly. Nevertheless, he has allowed himself to be fascinated by the possibility. In this connection we must refer, also, to his startling contention that the manuscript was the work of some forty different scribes, 'a whole monastery.' That every brother in a monastery should be so skilled a calligrapher as to be entrusted

with the task of writing on purple vellum in letters of gold is a large assumption; but the idea of a Gospel-book in which every brother had borne his part certainly catches the imagination. Had the book, indeed, really been so written, we may be pretty sure that S. Wilfred's biographer would have told so edifying a tale. Mr. Hoskier was at one time inclined to account for this hypothetical division of labour by the rather prosaic theory that S. Wilfred wanted the manuscript in a hurry to take as a present to Rome, but he withdraws this suggestion in a footnote.

The Hamilton-Morgan manuscript is undoubtedly an important one. Mr. Hoskier appears to have made his collation with commendable care. His theories as to the pedigree of the manuscript, its date, and the manner in which it was written show pleasing enthusiasm. But they are certainly a little rash.

Shakespeare Bibliography: a dictionary of every known issue of the writings of our national poet and of recorded opinion thereon in the English language. By William Jaggard. With historical introduction, facsimiles, portraits, and other illustrations. Stratford on Avon, at the Shakespeare Press, 19 Sheep Street, MCMXI. pp. xxi. 729. Price Three Guineas.

How best to arrange the great mass of material which he has here brought together must have caused Mr. Jaggard much anxious thought, and

there is not much profit to be gained from any elaborate demonstration of how and why we should have disposed it differently. Since the heading 'Shakespeare' occupies very nearly half the book, we should have preferred to see it raised to the dignity of a separate section; nor do we like the interruption of the sequence of Shakespeare's plays by such entries as 'Cupid's Cabinet Unlockt,' 'Double Falsehood,' 'Fifth of November,' etc., nor the burial of useful Concordances and Glossaries among elegant extracts and 'Tales from Shakespeare.' We are also sorry that Mr. Jaggard transliterates upper-case V in the middle of words by v instead of u, that he writes 'Shakespearean' instead of 'Shakespearian' (why not Gladstonean, or Swinburnean?), and that he has thought it consonant with the respect due to his subject to let off some very small squibs in order to annoy a distinguished living scholar. Having satisfied our critical conscience with these remarks we are left free to express our admiration for an immensely laborious and immensely useful piece of work. If space and time were at our disposal, it would be easy to extract from Mr. Jaggard's seven hundred and fifty closely printed pages a whole series of articles which only gross lack of skill could fail to make interesting. We might trace from them the growth of Shakespeare's fame, compare the popularity of different plays, note the first appearance of the Shakespeare collector and the ever-increasing liberality of his bids, discourse on the various attempts to add to the 'canon' of Shakespeare's plays as set forth in the Folio of 1623, and the

small success with which they have met, or moralize on the vagaries of his critics, and the follies, forgeries, and frauds by which the mere fool, the conceited fool, and the dishonest fool have all tried to make their private profit out of his fame. A bibliography as thorough as this is inevitably a new starting-point as well as a record. The amount which has been written about Shakespeare is so vast that even the special student of any one section of it may be thankful for the guide here provided to what has been written on this, and the material which has to be reckoned with. The present writer is bound to confess, damaging as it may be, that he has learnt for the first time from Mr. Jaggard of the existence of seventeenth-century transcripts, preserved at Warwick Castle, of 'Julius Cæsar,' and the 'Merry Wives of Windsor,' besides that of 'Henry IV.,' published in the last volume of the old Shakespeare Society. A smaller piece of ignorance now relieved is that the British Museum copy of the first quarto of 'Hamlet' was sold to a Dublin bookseller by an undergraduate at Trinity College for a shilling. The grass should not grow green on the grave of this bookseller, who knew what he was about, since he sold the book to Boone for £70, and might have given the lad a sovereign. A (to him) new fact of another kind which has caught the writer's eye is that Authority continued to look with disfavour on 'King Richard II.' long after the days of the Earl of Essex, Nahum. Tate's version, though prepared under the name of 'The Sicilian Usurper,' having been prohibited in 1681 under

Charles II., and stopped after two representations in 1691 under William III.! To produce 'Richard II.' as 'The Sicilian Usurper' indicated an ill conscience which almost invited prohibition, but Authority was clearly sensitive, as Cibber's well-known version of 'King Richard III.', which held the stage for a century in preference to Shakespeare's, had for several years to be produced shorn of its first act, lest the misfortunes of Henry VI. should arouse sympathy for the exiled King James.

Other notes by Mr. Jaggard recall the struggle, about 1734, between Jacob Tonson, who claimed the copyright of Shakespeare's Works, and 'R. Walker and his accomplices,' who infringed it, and maintained that their editions followed 'the copies made use of at the theatre,' whereupon Tonson procured and printed a statement from the prompter at Drury Lane that 'no person ever had, directly or indirectly, from me any such copy or copies, neither would I be accessory on any account to imposing on the publick such useless, pirated, and maimed editions.' This notice occurs in an edition of the 'Comedies of Errors,' and in the same year we find Tonson publishing the 'Merry Wives of Windsor' at a penny to undersell Walker, who was offering it for fourpence. But we are beginning to pick out plums from Mr. Jaggard's pudding, and though the plums are plentiful enough to bear much sampling, an earlier remark about space and time forbids us to continue. Doubtless Mr. Jaggard's bibliography might have been better if he had done various things differently; but only

pedantry will stint its recognition of the service which he has rendered to the study of Shakespeare.

A. W. P.

Tables Générales des Cinquante premières Années de la Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1859-1908. *Par Charles Du Bus. Tome I. Table des Articles. Imp.* 8*vo*, 172 *pp.* 1910.

It is indeed a worthy enterprise on the part of the publishers to endeavour to make available the vast amount of valuable material to be found in the long series of volumes of the 'Gazette des Beaux Arts,' and there can be nothing but praise for the industry and accuracy (as far as it has been tested) displayed in the compilation of the index named above. Besides gratitude, however, another feeling obtrudes itself on the mind of the librarian using the volume—namely, doubt whether the best means have been adopted for the end in view, quick, ready, and complete reference to any matter required.

It may be worth while to examine its structure more closely in order to find out where lies the weakness of this type of index. The bulk of the volume consists of a classified list of the articles which have appeared in the 'Gazette' down to 1908, the entries being numbered consecutively. The list is divided primarily into two sections—'art' and the 'arts'—and further divided into various sections, themselves subdivided chronologically and topographically. The classification

itself is adequate enough, but is necessarily not such as can be carried in the head—and there is no alphabetical index to it, only a synopsis of the headings. It follows that in tracking down an article, the subject only of which is known, it may be necessary to glance through the whole synopsis and try several possible headings before the right one is hit on.

The classified section is followed by no fewer than four separate alphabetical indexes: (1) of authors and writers (including titles of anonymous or collective publications); (2) of artists; (3) of places, towns, museums, sales, collections, collectors, patrons, and generally all names evoking the idea of the localization of works of art; (4) of subjects, titles of works, and matters not coming under the preceding categories. This last index does not include the subject headings of the various sections of the classified part, *e.g.* there is nothing under 'Architecture,' 'Ivoires.' It is a distinct loss of time and effort to have to think in which of these four indexes to look up a given name. For example, if one were trying to find an article on Molière's coat of arms, one might not turn at once to the first index, which is chiefly confined to writers of articles in the 'Gazette'; or for references to De Goncourt to the Topographical Index (No. 3).

The idea of an index in the form of a classified and numbered series of titles is a good one in itself, and it only needs the addition of a single, amplified name and subject index to become a handy bibliographical tool.

W. R. B. P.

Pattern used for a Beam Paper at Christ's College, Cambridge, probably in or soon after 1509.

Third Series,
No. 8, Vol. II. October, 1911.

THE LIBRARY.

CAMBRIDGE FRAGMENTS.

ON the afternoon of May 23rd, 1911, the Master of Christ's sent me a message asking if I could call on him. When I arrived he told me that in the work of restoration at the Lodge the workmen had found the original beams of the ceiling of the entrance hall, covered by a paper with a black and white design, on the other side of which there appeared to be some early printing. The Lodge had been 'completed or nearly so'[1] by the end of 1509, so that I was prepared for anything. We were not able to go to the Lodge until after six o'clock, when the workmen had gone, and when we opened the door we found that all the paper, or nearly all, had been cleared away. It is easier to imagine than to describe our feelings; but luckily we soon found that Mr. Kett, who is carrying out the restorations, had very carefully preserved every fragment which had been

[1] See Willis & Clark's 'Architectural History of the University of Cambridge,' Vol. ii, p. 200.

removed. It was important to recover the pattern of the design, for which it would be necessary to employ a careful draughtsman, and Mr. Edwin Wilson undertook the task. The equally delicate operation of removing the more recalcitrant fragments on the beams was entrusted to Mr. A. Baldrey, of the University Library. On the following day it appeared that not only the beams of the hall, but those of the dining-room also, had been covered with this stamped paper; and eventually every scrap that could be saved was carried off into safe custody at the University Library. The design appeared to be printed from a wood-block, and on the verso was English black letter printing of the type, apparently, of Wynkyn de Worde or Pynson.

One of the first fragments which we looked at contained a poem on the death of Henry the Seventh, the son of the Lady Margaret who had founded the college and died in the same year of 1509; and very soon we found that on the recto of a great mass of the paper, on the side which had been affixed to the beams, was a proclamation announcing the accession of King Henry the Eighth. We found also fragments of another proclamation, and of an Indulgence. Incidentally we may remind ourselves that Lady Margaret was 'a valuable and early patron to Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde, who undertook the composition and printing of several books at her special desire and command,' and that Wynkyn de Worde in this very year styled himself 'Printer unto the most excellent princess my lady the

King's Grandame.'[1] All this can be found in the Dictionary of National Biography.

But discoveries were not yet at an end. A day or two later, in searching under the boards of the floor of the Lady Margaret's bedroom, which is over the dining-room, and under the boards of an adjoining room, the workmen found the mummified remains of four rats,[2] which had taken to themselves coverings or shrouds; and upon investigation these proved to consist of a vellum deed relating to the College, some paper documents relating to Thomas Thompson, who was Master of the College from 1510 to 1517, and some fragments of printed matter which turned out to be part of an early Virgil; four leaves of a Horace; two leaves of a primer of Wynkyn de

[1] Mr. Pollard reminds me, on the other hand, that Pynson was appointed Royal Printer in 1508, 'and was thus the only man who could print Proclamations.'

[2] The Master of Christ's sends me the following note on the four mummified rats: Under the floor boards, and between them and the ground-floor ceiling, were found four specimens of mummified rats. These were very well preserved, even to the tips of their tails. Various anatomical points showed quite clearly that these animals belonged to the species *Mus rattus*—the black rat—which is of slenderer build than the now common Norwegian rat *Mus Decumanus*, which only reached our shores two centuries later, has larger ears and a longer tail. These specimens were dried up, with the skin still covering the bones, except in places. According to Helm, this rat was not known in Europe till the 'Völkerwanderung.' There is no word for 'rat' in the Welsh language. Bell* states that this rat was unknown in our country before the middle of the sixteenth century; at least, he says, no author more ancient than that period has described, or even alluded to it as being in Great Britain, Gesner being the first to do so.

* 'A History of British Quadrupeds,' 2nd ed. London, 1874.

Worde; and finally a leaf by Caxton. In addition two or three playing cards of the seventeenth century were found, and scraps of a child's book, printed early in the nineteenth century, which had been pasted on to a piece of thick paper.

Such briefly was the nature of the find, and I believe that it is of sufficient interest to set out an account of each of these objects in detail. First, it must be understood that it was quite out of the question to leave the paper in position. The paper had perished where it had not been covered by the ink; and it was owing no doubt to some quality of the pigment, oily or otherwise, that anything was still left. The design was apparently printed from a single wood-block, measuring 16 by 11 inches, and consisted of a conventional pine-cone centre surrounded by strap-work and flying birds. In the middle of the border of the long sides is the mark of the artist, a Lombardic 'H' on the left, and a bird, facing to the spectator's right, on the right. The design is Venetian in character,[1] but who is the artist? I turned to Sir Sidney Colvin's monumental 'Early Engraving and Engravers in England,' and almost the first name which met my eye (Introduction, p. 5) was the insidiously suggestive one of Hieronymus Cock (1510-70), 'printseller-engraver,' of Antwerp.

A print seller-engraver like Hieronymus Cock, one of the earliest and most active of his tribe, received into his workshop instructors from Italy, sent pupils of his own

[1] Mr. T. D. Barlow thinks that it is an imitation of the Venetian designs for stamped leather, which were copied from the Persian.

out to work there in return, and carried on an international commerce in engravings more extensive perhaps than any which has existed since.[1]

Sir Sidney Colvin gives reproductions of specimens of the work of what I take to be another member of the same family, Pieter Koeck, of Alost (1502-50), and as to both of these men information may be found in Bryan's 'Dictionary of Printers and Engravers.' There is a suspiciously fascinating trend in the direction of an artist of the name of Cock, though this may be fatally misleading. Is it possible that the designer may have been an earlier member of the family? It is, moreover, well to remember that the date of the wood-block has not yet been ascertained. Sir Sidney Colvin himself, who has been consulted, suggests[2] a second theory. He thinks the block was made for stamping velvet, of which trace may be found at Lyons or elsewhere; that the mark is probably a *marque de fabrique;* and that the impressions on paper were sent round as a pattern. It is not easy, however, to see how this view is consistent with the fact that the impressions were printed on the back of English broadsides and regularly affixed in a prominent position in a building of so much importance. It is possible to claim that we have here the earliest known example of paper with a stamped design, in use for a decorative purpose in England. The earlier custom was to use a stencilled pattern on the surface itself, and Mr. T. G. Jackson has found an example at St. Cross, near

[1] *Op. cit.* [2] *In litt.*, July 18th, 1911.

Winchester, as the work of Cardinal Beaufort about 1500.[1] Dr. W. Morley Fletcher, who has paid particular attention to the history of interior arrangements in Cambridge at Trinity College, has found similar designs on the plaster, in the late sixteenth century. He has found no trace of paper.[2]

We come now to the second object of enquiry—namely, the printed matter upon the recto of the paper. Very early came the welcome date, 'the x day of Aprille the furste yere of our raigne'; and a reference to Lord Crawford's new volume of Tudor and Stuart Proclamations [3] showed us that we had a copy of 'Steele No. 53' (as I propose to call it), hitherto not found in print, but of which four manuscript copies are preserved in the Record

[1] *In litt.* to the Master of Christ's, July 20th, 1911. Mr. Jackson adds that wall papers came in with Queen Anne.

[2] He has given me the following extract on room decoration in May, 1577: (From Lansdowne MSS. 25, f. 46 [quoted in 'Lives and Letters of the Devereux, Earls of Essex,' by W. B. Devereux. London, 1853. Appendix D, p. 489, Vol. ii.]). Among the parcels which Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl, bought at his entrance to his chambers at Trinity College, Cambridge, were, *inter alia:* 20 yards of new green broad serges, £2 16s.; 40 foot of *quarters under the hangings*, 2s.; new hangings in the study of *painted cloth*, 16s.; for *painting* both chamber and study overhead, 5s.; shelves in the study, 2s. 6d. And again: *Painted cloths* in the chamber and *painting* in the bed-chamber, £1 18s. 4d.; a great green cloth curtain in the chamber window, 6s.; a piece of new *painted cloth* in the chamber, 3s.; for *painting the study*, 6d.; for a green cloth in the study window, 2s.; etc., etc.

[3] 'Bibliotheca Lindesiana,' Vol. v. A Bibliography of Royal Proclamations of the Tudor and Stuart Sovereigns and of others published under authority, 1485-1714, with an historical essay on their origin and use, by Robert Steele. 2 Vols. Oxford, 1910.

Office. The fragments were so brittle or decayed that immediate steps were taken to place them between glass, and in the process we found that we had the remains of no fewer than eight copies of this Proclamation. At the head are two cuts—one of the royal arms supported by angels, which also occurs in 'Steele 54'; the other of the King and Council, at present not identified in any other book.[1] Then we found that fragments belonged to another edition of the same Proclamation, more elaborately printed, with a woodcut ribbon at the top reading 'The Newe Proclamation,' with side ornaments, line endings, and another ribbon at the foot with the words 'God save the Kynge.' But with all these numerous copies it was still impossible to reconstruct the complete text, and therefore impossible to fit in the unidentified fragments of this huge jig-saw puzzle. So I wrote to Mr. C. Hilary Jenkinson, of the Record Office, who, in collaboration with his wife, furnished us in a few days with a copy of the only known text. It appeared in the process that all the four manuscript copies there preserved differed verbally from one another, and further that our printed text contained a whole paragraph (lines 29-36) which is not in the manuscript. It is, therefore, worth while to reprint the whole Proclamation as now recovered, reconstructed from these fragments.

If we take the plain printed copy as representing Edition A, Edition B may be identified by its

[1] The cut is similar in character to those in 'The Destruction of Jerusalem' [printed by Pynson]. This book also contains the florets alluded to in the text.

reading 'mysteryes and ocupacyons' in the last line but one, and 'Kynge' in the ribbon.

We come now to the next fragment, that of the Proclamation of Pardon for all crimes committed before April 24th, 1509, of which the only copy previously known is in our University Library at Cambridge, and catalogued by Mr. Steele as No. 54. But again the new fragments are of another edition, and they are further useful as containing part of line 21, '¶ Intrusyons / and entries in to the Temporaltyes of Archebusshopes / Busshoppes / Abbotes / Priours &,' which is missing in the edition in the library. This contains, as I have said, the cut of the royal arms at top, as in our newly-found Steele 53. The new edition of No. 54 starts with a large calligraphic initial, but of this very little remains.[1]

We may now pass to the poem on the death of Henry the Seventh. At the head are the royal arms of England and France, and below are two florets, which are so familiar in English printing of this date. There are four fragments altogether, the first containing the arms and florets and the beginnings of five lines. The other three preserve a substantial part of five and a half seven-line stanzas, and these are here printed in full, with a promise from the Editor that space shall be found in a future number to print any reasonable attempt to complete the mutilated lines.

[1] I hope to be permitted to print the remaining text of this edition of the second Proclamation in the forthcoming number of the Christ's College Magazine.

Fragments 2 and 3.

To wryte all his no
But Englonde may say
He hath do
I w
But cryst on hym haue
His subjet I was / and his bedeman shal dye
Our est his son noble Seventh Henry

O pang sed is my herte
With th of mo a absence
Ponder Kynge whiche lately did departe
For all as of hym dyde seke prudence
In sage sapyence
A dyde afore
my herte sore.

tendre youth of our Kynge his sone
that god hath hym lente
more vertuously hath begone
th all thynges conuenyente
lyfe / may say that god hath lente
wronge and to mayntayne the ryghte
ral Kynge & goddes faythful K[nyghte]

undesyr and his uncle a Kynge
oncle / whiche as a Kynges broder
Kynge his fader of te dep cy
was a quene and a queene was his mo[der]
/ and a quene shall be the other
natural souerayne lorde and Kynge
to lou de a boue all lyuynge thȳge

Fragment 4.

For lyuynge thou [wert] called one of the worthy
And now for all this [ther is] no remedye but deed
Thy softe body lyeth / all [wra]pped in leed

Golde suffyseth not to contente thy mynde
For his honourable and precyous pure body
Comen of no grosse blod but of gentyl kynde
As ensample in his persone he shewed dayly
Takynge his unde with liberte so demurely
And his virtue and many other to wryte and rede
No remedy [ ] out pray / for he lyeth dede.

I may remark that fragment No. 2 was one of the first to come to light, and it gave us the only example of the Caxton 'I' (in line 4) which was found. While it was satisfactory thus early to have evidence of Wynkyn de Worde's work, the 'malice of inanimate objects,' to use Mr. J. W. Clark's phrase, could hardly be better illustrated. I had expected to find this poem in Stephen Hawes' 'Joyfull medytacyon to all Englonde of the coronacyon of our moost naturall Souerayne lorde Kynge Henry the eyght,' Wynkyn de Worde, 1509, 4°, the only known copy of which is in the Cambridge University Library. The two poems are in the same metre, and it is difficult not to hazard a guess as to the author of the newly-found lines. But at present we must be content to wait.

Mr. Strickland Gibson, of the Bodleian Library, has drawn my attention to a similar fragment of an elegy of Henry the Seventh among the Douce fragments (e. 20) there. 'It is a small folio single

sheet,' he writes, 'printed on the back in quarto. Probably it was a proof.' At the head are these cuts: (1) royal arms, as in our fragment, (2) the King lying dead, (3) Tudor rose crowned. These are separated from each other by apparently the same florets. The text, so far as it remains, has been printed by Dyce in an Appendix to his Edition of Skelton, Vol. ii, pp. 399 *sq.* In the first four stanzas the beginnings of every line have been cut off, but the next three stanzas are intact, and of these the last may be quoted for comparison:

> And nowe for conclysyon about his herse
> Let this be grauyd for endeless memorye
> With sorowfull tunes of Thesyphenes verse:
> Here lyeth the puyssaunt and myghty henry
> Hector in batayle, Ulyxes in polecy
> Salamon in wysdome, the noble rose rede,
> Creses in rychess, Julyus in glory,
> Henry the Seventh ingraued here lyeth dede.

We may next turn to another broadside, the Indulgence. This contains the Della Rovere arms at the top, obviously those of Julius II. (1503-13). The fragment consists of a mere strip off the left-hand side,[1] and the only other ornaments are two grotesque initial letters, such as were used by Wynkyn de Worde. No other example is known of the use in English of the arms of Julius the Second in contemporary printing.

[1] To aid identification it may be noted that the following words come under each other in the lines 2-10 of the strip: pr̄ycypall : synger : kes ye sp : Lest th : where : bre of : to saye : der the s : of mon.

Mr. Wordsworth's list of Indulgences preserved in Yorkshire offers no clue.[1]

We now come to the funeral piles of the rats. As if we had not had fresh fragments enough, it next appeared that the two leaves of the long duodecimo Primer, also in Wynkyn de Worde's type, probably belonged to an unregistered edition. Only three editions are at present known, and all these only from single copies. The new fragment agrees neither with the copy in the University Library [Hoskins 46], nor with that in Clare College Library [Hoskins 44], and the third only known edition, in the British Museum, Mr. Pollard tells me, wants the part of the volume containing these leaves. It is worth while, therefore, to put these also on record. The leaves are without signature, but the text of them occurs on signature b5 and 6 in the edition in the University Library, and contains the Benedicite, the Benedictus, and other psalms. I give the first and last words of each page.

b 5 a	*b 5 b*	*b 6 a*	*b 6 b*
quesierunt	dño	cres	bilatiōis
colles	volu=	iu=	ipso.

We may now turn to the handful of scraps—for it was no more—in Caxton's type 5. Mr. Jenkinson simplified the task of identifying these by placing in my hand a copy of the 'Donatus Melior' of Mancinellus, printed at Milan in 1499,[2] quarto.

[1] 'The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal,' Vol. xvi, p. 369 *sq.* ('On some pardons or indulgences preserved in Yorkshire.' By the Rev. C. Wordsworth.)

[2] Copinger II, 3802 (the only copy recorded by him).

The only other fragments of Caxton's edition of the 'Donatus Melior' were found by Mr. Robert Proctor in the binding of a book at New College, Oxford,[1] and of these luckily Mr. Hessels had photographs, which he kindly allowed me to see. There are some discrepancies between this text and that of the Milanese edition, for while this leads off each declension with general remarks, in the Caxton edition these general remarks follow the examples. I hope to print the text of this leaf of the 'Donatus' also in the forthcoming number of the Christ's College Magazine. The verso of the fragment is in large parts so badly discoloured with a brown deposit that it has not been possible to decipher all of it. The page of 31 lines was that adopted by Caxton in the 'Speculum Vitae Christi' and the 'Royal Book,' both of which were printed in the same type. The page of type in these measures 185 by 120 mm. Two kinds of initials appear: (1) the two-line initials O, M, P, with a white streak, used in the 'Governal of Health' and in the 'Royal Book,' (2) the two-line black initial P.

Three small fragments remain to be described. The first is of a Virgil, for the rats were evidently determined to die like scholars. The edition selected by the rats contained 20 lines to the page, and may be identified from the top of 'Fol. lxxxij,' where the first two lines end 'q; relicti' and ') per tela / per hostes' (Aen. ii, 357). If any reader of these pages should chance to have a Virgil so constituted, I should be glad of the information, for

[1] Copinger II, 3801, corrected. S. De Ricci, Census No. 41.

I have searched the University Library and the libraries of Trinity College and St. John's College in vain.

The rats had a more plentiful supply of Horace, for of this poet they took four whole octavo leaves, with marginal notes, text and notes both printed in italics. The leaves are paged pp. 227-234, and the edition may be thus identified from the top of the first.

SERMONUM LIB. II. 227

Aufidius forti miscebat mella Falerno *ieiuno stoma-*

Again, I have searched the three libraries mentioned above in vain.[1] There is only one other printed scrap which it has been possible to identify, and that is part of a heraldic initial T (31 mm.), used by Pynson in 'The Destruction of Jerusalem' (sig. E 2), and in his editions of the Sarum Missal of 1512, and of 'Fabyan's Chronicles,' 1515, F°.

For the sake of completeness I give a brief statement of the manuscript remains. The oldest of these is dated November 29th, 1327, and is a Charter of Confirmation, on vellum, from a person unknown to John the son of Richard de Redham de Quarflet apud Brad[ ] and to Thomas [ ] and his heirs.[2]

The second document is an agreement, on paper,

[1] The nearest I can find is the edition printed by Paul Étienne, Editio tertia, in 1600. The first edition printed by Henri Étienne about 1575 has no marginal notes.

[2] Mr. Alfred Rogers, of the University Library, has kindly deciphered the document, so far as it was possible.

between Thomas Thompson yeoman of London and Thomas Thompson[1] Master of Christ's College and the fellows of the Society as to a certain number of marcs, dated 1520. On the verso the yeoman is described as 'fermor of the prebend callid the Nore belonging to the Cathedral Chirche of Saynt Polle of London,' and is 'for certeyn londes belongyng to'—and there the writing stops, unfinished. A third document is a poorly-written appeal to 'your Mastership,' and refers to the 'Mācypyll.' A fourth is a Latin fragment, on paper, dealing with a geometrical problem.[2] There are broken fragments of a theological exercise, but it is of no importance. The playing cards are, unfortunately, not court cards, but a ten of diamonds and a ten of spades of one pack (85 by 45 mm.), and a five of diamonds (100 by 58 mm.) of another pack, all with plain backs, of the seventeenth century.[3]

Here I might bring these remarks to a close, but an indulgent Editor will permit me to place on record the remains of the child's book of about the year 1820, with pictures, which the workmen found. The verses do not occur in Mr. Tuer's volume,[4] nor have I been able to indentify them elsewhere. I will spare the reader more than two extracts, but these I give in the hope that someone

[1] The contracting parties may have been cousins.

[2] Dr. W. W. Rouse Ball informs me that this is of no special interest. It has also been examined by Sir G. H. Darwin.

[3] I am indebted to Dr. W. Morley Fletcher for information on this point.

[4] Forgotten Children's Books.

may be able to tell me of another copy of a book which may have charmed the eyes of children of a bygone generation.

Filial Love.

Miss Jane's mamma was very ill,[1]
And felt such pain she could not sleep,
And Jane would quietly sit still
Or sometimes through the curtains peep.

VIII.

The Purloiner.

As Joe was at play,
Near the cupboard one day
When he thought no one by but himself,
How sorry I am
He ate raspberry jam,
And currants that stood on the shelf.

There are pictures of Jane and Joe, and allusions to brother Henry, and Headstrong, and Ann, and Master Edward.[2]

* * * * *

The tale of the fragments of printed and other matter found in the Master's Lodge at Christ's College, Cambridge, in the spring of 1911, has now been told. The unravelling of their secrets has been an interesting task. I have more than

[1] For the illness of Miss Jane's mamma cf. A. W. Tuer, *op. cit.*, p. 422.

[2] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 404.

once reminded myself of the find of the leaves printed by Wynkyn de Worde mentioned by Blades in the 'Enemies of Books.' The present discoveries, which we owe entirely to the reverent piety of the Master and Fellows of Christ's College in endeavouring to restore to its original beauty the home of their Foundress, will, I hope, be considered of sufficient importance to justify them being recorded in the pages of the 'LIBRARY.'

CHARLES SAYLE.

'THE AUTOCRAT' AS BOOK-LOVER.

GOOD many years ago I was preparing a short lecture on the Poetry of the Bibliomania, and wanted to include in it a quotation which had long remained in my memory from Oliver Wendell Holmes. But when, in obedience to the sagacious injunction given by the venerable Martin Routh, I tried to verify the verses floating in my memory, I found that the poem had vanished from the English and also from the American editions! So I refrained from this quotation, clear though it was in my memory.

Mr. George B. Ives, in his 'Bibliography of Oliver Wendell Holmes,' gives the history of this disappearance. 'Astraea: the Balance of Illusions,' was a poem delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Yale College, 14th August, 1850, and was published in pamphlet form in that year by Ticknor, Reed and Fields. It has not, with one exception, been reprinted as written. In 'Songs in Many Keys' there are some excerpts, and these are found in later collected editions. In the Cambridge (1895) and Cabinet (1899) editions the remainder of the poem is hidden away in the appendix, with references to the excerpts.

The one exception to this rejection, or partition, of 'Astraea' is the First English Edition of the

Poetical Works of Wendell Holmes, published in 1852 at London, by George Routledge and Co. Reading it as a whole one wonders for what reason the 'Autocrat' desired to seclude this poem from his readers. It is no unworthy effort, and contains some striking pictures, as that of the Master, whose

> . . . kindness ripened, till the youth might dare
> Take the low seat beside his sacred chair,
> While the gray scholar, bending o'er the young,
> Spelled the square types of Abraham's ancient tongue,
> Or with mild rapture stooped devoutly o'er
> His small coarse leaf, alive with curious lore;
> Tales of grim judges, at whose awful beck
> Flashed the broad blade across a royal neck,
> Or learnèd dreams of Israel's long lost child,
> Found in the wanderer of the western wild.

But what I chiefly valued 'Astraea' for was the picture of the library:

> Such the warm life this dim retreat has known,
> Not quite deserted when its guests were flown;
> Nay, filled with friends, an unobtrusive set,
> Guiltless of calls and cards and etiquette,
> Ready to answer, never known to ask,
> Claiming no service, prompt for every task.
>
> On those dark shelves no housewife tool profanes;
> O'er his mute files the monarch folio reigns;
> A mingled race, the wreck of chance and time,
> That talk all tongues and breathe of every clime;
> Each knows his place, and each may claim his part
> In some quaint corner of his master's heart.
> This old Decretal won from Kloss's hoards,
> Thick-leafed, brass cornered, ribbed with oaken boards,

Stands the gray patriarch of the graver rows,
Its fourth ripe century narrowing to its close;
Not daily conned, but glorious still to view,
With glistening letters wrought in red and blue.

There towers Stagira's all-embracing sage,
The Aldine anchor on his opening page;
There sleep the births of Plato's heavenly mind,
In yon dark tome by jealous clasps confined,
'Olim e libris'—(dare I call it mine?)
Of Yale's great Head and Killingworth's divine![1]

In these square sheets the songs of Maro fill
The silvery types of smooth-leafed Baskerville;
High over all, in close compact array,
Their classic wealth the Elzevirs display.
In lower regions of the sacred space
Range the dense volumes of a humbler race;
There grim chirurgions all their mysteries teach
In spectral pictures or in crabbèd speech;
Harvey and Haller, fresh from Nature's page,
Shoulder the dreamers of an earlier age,
Lully and Geber, and the learned crew[2]
That loved to talk of all they could not do.

Why count the rest,—those names of later days
That many love, and all agree to praise,—
Or point the titles where a glance may read
The dangerous lines of party or of creed?
Too well, perchance, the chosen list would show
What few would care and none may claim to know.
Each has his feature whose exterior seal
A brush may copy, or a sunbeam steal;

[1] This, Mr. W. C. Tillinghast informs me, is probably intended for Abraham Pierson, the first President of Yale (1701-7). The first edition reads 'great,' the later ones 'grave.'

[2] Some members of this bombastic tribe are further noticed in the opening chapter of 'The Poet at the Breakfast Table.'

Go to his study,—on the nearest shelf
Stands the mosaic portrait of himself.

What though for months the tranquil dust descends,
Whitening the heads of those mine ancient friends,
While the damp offspring of the modern press
Flaunts on my table with its pictured dress;
Not less I love each dull familiar face,
Nor less should miss it from the appointed place;
I snatch the book along whose burning leaves
His scarlet web our wild romancer weaves;
Yet, while proud Hester's fiery pangs I share,
My old MAGNALIA must be standing *there!*

This excerpt may now be read in some collected editions, under the title of 'The Study.'

Holmes's rhymes indicate the feelings of a keen booklover. Very little is said on the subject in Morse's 'Life' of him. His father's library was one of about 2,000 volumes, including many of the great writers, and great quantities of theology and of miscellaneous matter. The boy Holmes found much of his reading in Rees's 'Encyclopaedia,' and there was plenty of good food to be found in those ample tomes. By a process of reaction, the 'Family Bible' of that pious, but narrow, person, the Rev. Thomas Scott, pushed Holmes to a more liberal spirit in theology.

The allusions in 'Astraea' are such as we would expect from a confirmed book-hunter.[1]

[1] The 'Autocrat' has faithfully described the book-hunger of the veteran book-hunter in the seventh chapter of 'Over the Teacups.' And there is also the notable passage which occurs earlier in the same work, about Bernard Quaritch's shop and catalogue. Nor should the account of the Master's library in 'The Poet at the Breakfast Table' be overlooked.

When the books of Dr. George Franz Burkhard Kloss were sold, in 1835, nine copies of the Decretal of Gregory IX., all printed in the fifteenth century, changed hands. To which of these did Holmes refer? I have just looked again at the edition of Aristotle's 'Opera' issued by the famous house of Aldus, and it is indeed a magnificent specimen of typography. But it may be remarked that the folios of 1495-8 do not display the familiar mark of the anchor. Whilst Baskerville's 'silvery types' have retained their charm, it must be confessed that the dapper Elzevirs have fallen upon evil days, and can often be released by a few pence from the box of odds and ends at the shop door.

His references to old medical literature may be illustrated by the pleasant fact that he presented 'this dearly loved collection' of 965 volumes and many pamphlets to the Boston Medical Library. The occasion selected for this graceful act was when, after thirteen years of service, he resigned the office of President. 'These books,' he said, 'were very dear to me as they stood upon my shelves. A twig from some one of my nerves ran to every one of them. . . . I am pleased that they can be kept together, at least for the present; and if any of them can be to others what they have been to me, I am glad to part with them, even though it costs me a little heartache to take leave of such old and beloved companions.[1]

[1] The essay on 'Medical Libraries,' and that on 'Some of my Early Teachers,' contain much that is interesting and appropriate to the present subject. His warm and well-merited tribute to Dr. J. S. Billings as a medical bibliographer may be cited as an example.

The final allusions in the poem are to Hawthorne and Cotton Mather. The 'Scarlet Letter' has so entirely taken its place among the great classics of our language that it is almost a shock to have it thus mentioned as a 'damp offspring of the modern press.' Of the 'Magnalia Christi Americana' it was said by Nicholas Noyes, teacher of the Church at Salem:

> The stuff is true, the Trimming neat and spruce,
> The Workman's good, the Work of publick use;
> Most piously design'd, a publick Store,
> And well deserves the publick Thanks and more.

Some may doubt whether all the 'stuff' is true, but none will deny that it was 'piously designed,' and is worthy of the heartiest thanks—and more.

The 'Autocrat' had one skill which more book-lovers desire than possess—he was an expert on book-binding. 'I bound a book myself once,' he wrote; 'I don't believe Sumner ever did.' This was an allusion to an after-dinner speech, in which that statesman had talked learnedly on the bibliopegic art, and 'made almost a sensation' by the use of the word 'forwarding.' On which Holmes gives this sound advice: 'When you hear a distinguished personage using long words or technical phrases that frighten you, and make you think how learned he is and how desperately ignorant you and all your acquaintances are, as soon as the speech is over and the company separates, go to your dictionary or cyclopædia and look out his polysyllables, and ten to one you will get him off his horse in five minutes.' It is evident that Dr.

Holmes's browsings in the many pages of Rees's 'Encyclopaedia' had not been without advantage.

The flame that burned in 'Astraea'—that somewhat neglected child of Wendell Holmes's poetic genius—continues to burn, and has even a warmer glow, in the rhyming 'Epilogue to the Breakfast-Table Series.' Although Oliver Wendell Holmes may not be the Poet Laureate of Bookland, he is sealed of the tribe of Bibliophiles. If a library had been built on Parnassus, he could easily have supplied a fitting dedicatory ode for the occasion.

WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

THE EARLY HUMANISTS OF ELSASS.

AS the fifteenth century was drawing to a close we may trace in Elsass a product of the Renaissance which deserves some notice owing to its distinctive features, differing from the manifestations of the new learning in Italy, and even from its offshoots in Nuremberg and Augsburg. For the cult of paganism has no part in the movement in Elsass, and although stirred by the new enthusiasm for classical scholarship, and believing in the enlightening powers of sound learning, the disciples of the Renaissance in Strassburg and Schlettstadt had no thought of revolt against constituted authority; they still held to the ideals of Church and Empire, desiring to purge the Church of the abuses which they exposed, but ready to wield their pens in her defence whenever a reformer should carry his zeal too far. There are episodes, in fact, as in the case of their ungenerous onslaught on the fallen Archbishop of Carniola, when the humanists of Elsass showed all the intolerance of the Middle Ages.

The seed-plot of this movement was the school established at Schlettstadt, modelled on the more famous school of the Brethren of the Common

Life by its first rector, Ludwig Dringenberg, a Westphalian, who had been a pupil at Deventer. Dringenberg was not himself a profound scholar, but schools of any kind were rare at this period, and Dringenberg's course of instruction, in spite of his own faulty latinity, was superior to that of any of the ecclesiastical seminaries of the neighbouring towns. His old pupils, many of whom advanced far beyond him in scholarship, looked back to their school days at Schlettstadt as the starting point in their careers.

Chief among these Alsatian scholars was Jakob Wimpheling, descended from a substantial yeoman family, and destined on account of his delicate health for the Church. His life, 1450 to 1528, was a long one according to the reckoning of those days, and he lived on into the storms of the period of the Reformation, to which this movement in Elsass is, properly speaking, anterior. He was closely associated with Sebastian Brant, best known as the author of the 'Narrenschiff,' and the arrival of these two men in Strassburg may be taken as the beginning of the literary activity there, although the new learning had already been introduced by their friend, Peter Schott, who had studied in Paris and in Italy, and had returned to his native city full of enthusiasm for a purer Latin and a more liberal kind of learning. But Schott, the son of a wealthy patrician, was essentially a man of leisure with scholarly tastes rather than an innovator and a leader. He left behind him the memory of a gentle and amiable student, whose attainments were probably exaggerated by his

friends, Wimpheling among them, who mourned his early death at the age of thirty-two. His relations with his family give us a pleasant picture of a cultured and affectionate home-life, and his blameless and kindly character is in pleasing contrast to the loose morals and corruption which the satirists of the time have described to us, and to the rather bitter and irritable dispositions of many contemporary scholars and writers. He was not lacking, however, in earnestness of purpose or in zeal as a cleric. Under the influence of Geiler of Kaisersberg, the Strassburg Savonarola, he had deserted the profession of the law, for which he was destined by his very affectionate father, the patriotic and public-spirited 'Ammeister' of Strassburg, and was presented to a canonry. Following Geiler's example, he had been outspoken in condemning some of the abuses of the Church, and had himself introduced some excellent reforms at Strassburg, being nevertheless untouched by any heretical ideas of change and strictly orthodox in his views.

Schott's letters to his friends, written in Latin, together with some verses and rhetorical efforts, were collected and published after his death, with a commendatory introduction by Wimpheling, under the title, 'Petri Schotti Lucubraciunculae.' The letters are of value for the information contained in them, for Schott corresponded with many of the principal scholars of his time. The 'Lucubraciunculae' have been largely drawn upon by Charles Schmidt in his two substantial volumes, 'Histoire Littéraire de l'Alsace à la fin du XV. et

au commencement du XVI. siècle,' to which work I must acknowledge my indebtedness in compiling this little paper.

Although, like Schott, an Alsatian by birth, Wimpheling's earlier years were spent away from his native province. It was at the university of Erfurt in 1469 that he first encountered the new humanism, and it is characteristic of this northern type of humanism that its influence was accompanied, in Wimpheling's case, not by a spirit of levity, casting aside the old religious ties in the zest for the new joys of living, but by a resolve to cease from the careless life which he had been leading as a student at Freiburg in Breisgau, and to live with the words before him: 'noli peccare, deus videt.' Henceforward and to the end of his life Wimpheling was a man of serious mind. Not very long afterwards he took orders.

Circumstances led to his continuing his studies at Heidelberg, not at that time an inspiring place of study, if we may believe Wimpheling's account of it, for the battle of Nominalist and Realist was still raging there. He turned to canon law, but increasing seriousness made him leave this for theology, though he continued to study classical poetry at the same time. His essays in Latin poetry resulted in his becoming secretary to the Elector Frederick I. of the Palatinate, and under his successor, Philip, he became rector of the university. He endeavoured to instil something of the love of classical learning into the students, instituting exercises in the form of dialogues, after the manner of his old master Dringenberg at Schlettstadt; and

while presiding, according to the quaint custom of those days, at the facetious debates of the students, he took advantage of these frivolous occasions to point a moral, probably quite unexpected, and to warn the students against indulgence in the temptations which surrounded them.

Through the persuasion of one of his friends, Wimpheling applied for and obtained the vacant post of preacher in the Cathedral at Speyer, being induced to take the post by the consideration that he would gain some practical experience which would be of use to him later in expounding theology in the university.

While at Speyer he published an edition of the 'De restitutione Usurarum' of Franciscus de Platea, with a prefatory letter from himself to the printer, directed against the ill-doings of princes and prelates, of dishonest traders and corrupt lawyers, of venal confessors and the mendicant friars and the 'collectors' of the convents, who were guilty of every kind of fraud.

These complaints were repeated by Wimpheling in his subsequent works; but while declaiming against the ill-deeds of the clergy he was active in defence of their privileges, addressing an appeal to the Pope and publishing a denunciation of those lords who took advantage of the disorders of the Empire to plunder the goods of the ecclesiastics. We have here no revolutionary; Wimpheling would purify the Church, but would maintain all its powers and privileges, and not only its privileges, but also its doctrines. In his poetical contest with Gaguin we notice the beginnings of that

enthusiasm for the Empire and the German race which afterwards embroiled him rather unfortunately. But he is at one with the Frenchman in defending against the Dominicans the 'triple purity' of the Virgin, always an article of faith in Elsass.

Wimpheling had returned to Heidelberg when his friend Christoph von Utenheim, canon of Basel, reminded him of an old promise to retire to a hermit's life in the Black Forest with Geiler of Kaisersberg. It was an idea which had attracted Peter Schott and his friend Bohuslaw von Lobkowitz some years before, but now again the project came to nothing.

Utenheim was elected Bishop of Basel, and Wimpheling, who had been staying with Geiler while waiting for the conclusion of the arrangements for the hermitage, decided to remain in Strassburg, probably being influenced by the arrival of Sebastian Brant. Henceforth he takes his place with Brant in the literary circle in Strassburg, of which several members of the different Chapters were the intelligent patrons.

About the same time there arrived in Strassburg, after a ten years' sojourn in Italy, the young Thomas Wolf, nephew of the elder Thomas Wolf, the intimate friend of Peter Schott, and himself a lover of letters and the arts.

This Thomas Wolf is one of the most prominent and certainly one of the most attractive of Wimpheling's circle. He belonged to a family of wealth and position, and being left an orphan his education was entrusted to his uncle just mentioned. Like Wimpheling before him, young Wolf imbibed the

first draught of the Renaissance at Erfurt. Thence he was sent to Bologna, where he associated with the choicest spirits there, both German and Italian, being especially influenced by Beroaldo, the professor of Latin. In due course he took his degree as doctor of canon law. In addition to his other studies he turned his attention to theology, attending the lectures of Bossio of Padua; for, true to his German upbringing, he preserved during these long years in Italy the same seriousness that we have noted in those who afterwards became his friends when he returned home. Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola was one of his Italian friends, and he went to Mantua to see Spagnuoli (Baptista Mantuanus), renowned for his Christian muse.

He was shocked by the scandals which he witnessed at Rome, and wrote of them to Mutianus Rufus. He was loyal to the Church, but saddened and perplexed by what he saw.

This disillusioning did not quench his zeal for antiquity. He had been drawn to archæology for some time, and at Rome he worked hard, studying monuments and copying inscriptions. When he returned to Strassburg he was laden with books and copies of manuscripts and a large collection of inscriptions. Besides the inscriptions which had been copied by himself or his friends, he transcribed a large part of a collection made by an Italian in different countries that Wolf had not visited, as far afield as Spain and Byzantium. The collection has been handed down to us in a copy made shortly after Wolf's death. It is without any attempt at

order or arrangement. Probably Wolf's early death—he died at the age of thirty-four—prevented his undertaking some kind of classification, for he was not without the critical faculty, and we have notes of the emendations which he suggested for doubtful texts.

In Strassburg Wolf led the pleasant life of a man of scholarly tastes and great social gifts, combined with easy circumstances improved by his presentation to two prebends.

His own literary productions are not of much permanent value. He brought home with him from Italy some dialogues which he had composed; he contributed his share of the prefaces and commendatory notices which were in fashion, and he took some part in the inky warfare of the time.

It was his ambition to be a patron of men of letters, and he was full of enthusiasm for the classics. He was a general favourite with his circle in Strassburg, and was associated with scholars all over Germany and Italy, who admired his learning, his pleasant manner, and his charm as a talker. One feels that Wolf in his short life had tasted the higher pleasures to the full, and one might put forward this gifted scholar, combining the culture of Italy with the earnestness of Germany, as a happy example of the Renaissance in Elsass.

Wimpheling and Brant were congenial to one another; both have the same point of view. Brant was less of a poet than a preacher in verse; he is not a humanist in the strict sense, or a satirist who aims at a laugh. His purpose is didactic, and his object as serious as that of his school.

Brant was born in 1457, or thereabouts, the son of the proprietor of a large inn in Strassburg. His father, however, was clearly a man of more consideration than his occupation suggests, for Sebastian's grandfather had been a member of the grand council for the Vintner's Company.

Young Brant was by nature grave and inclined to melancholy; equable as a rule, but inclined on occasion to violent outbursts of dislike. He was the friend from boyhood of Peter Schott, and probably received part of his education from Johann Müller, of Rastatt, who had been sent in charge of Schott while he was a pupil at Schlettstadt.

Brant matriculated at the university of Basel, where he decided to devote himself to law, but to allow himself at the same time sufficient leisure to assist in the furthering of letters. His serious views of life were strengthened by his meeting Geiler of Kaisersberg; his love of letters was stimulated no less by the arrival in Basel of the great Reuchlin, and we note the strange mixture of Catholic thought and mythological phraseology in his early poems.

In due course Brant graduated as bachelor, and then as doctor of law, and in 1492 became dean of the faculty. Two years later he published his famous work, the 'Narrenschiff,' the satire in verse which ran through many editions and was translated into several tongues, among the translations being two English versions by Henry Watson and Alexander Barclay respectively, both printed in 1509.

Brant remained at Basel till 1500 when he was appointed syndic of his native city and returned to Strassburg. As we have seen, Wimpheling had settled there about the same time, and the two friends became the leaders of the literary movement there. Not long afterwards appeared Wimpheling's rather unfortunate excursion into history, published after being submitted to Brant's criticism, the 'Germania.' It was written with the patriotic purpose of combatting the French leanings which Wimpheling thought he detected in Strassburg, by proving that Elsass had always been inhabited by Germans, that Pepin and Charlemagne had been Germans not Gauls, and that the empire was essentially German, since no Gaul had been emperor from the time of Julius Cæsar. This publication involved Wimpheling in a violent controversy with Thomas Murner, a Franciscan, who was afterwards one of the leading opponents of the Lutheran doctrines which took such a hold over Elsass, a controversy in which Wimpheling did not have the best of it, for if Murner's historical knowledge was not very much greater than Wimpheling's, his pen possessed a satirical power which made him a formidable adversary. The episode brings out the contentious side of Wimpheling's character, for Murner had consulted him before publishing his reply, written to vindicate what he conceived to be the truth, and there was no need for the acrimonious quarrel in which it resulted, a quarrel into which Wimpheling's disciples, notably Thomas Wolf, rushed to defend their master.

The publication of the 'Germania' was but the beginning of a series of controversies in which Wimpheling was involved. The appearance of a tract on the double purity of morals and faith which is proper to priests led to an outcry among the monks. Before publishing the book, Wimpheling had shown it to Jakob Locher, a Würtemberger who was professor of poetry at Freiburg, where Wimpheling was staying at this time. Strange to say, Wimpheling was shortly afterwards embroiled with Locher himself, who having been at one time much of a mind with the humanists of Elsass, now showed himself much more akin to the more daring spirits of the Renaissance. Having been reproved for his pagan tendencies by a respectable but rather old-fashioned professor of theology at Ingolstadt, Locher made an outrageous attack upon him, and one of Locher's followers dragged in the names of Wimpheling and Wolf, who certainly shared the theologian's views upon pagan poets. The result was a battle of epigrams, actually affixed to the notice-board of the College at Freiburg. The warfare was continued by various partisans. Locher, threatening Wimpheling with personal violence, came across one of his disciples on his way to Italy, to fetch some manuscripts of Pico for Wolf to publish, and maltreated the unfortunate young man. Others entered the fray, Brant excelling in the violence of his abuse, and in time literary Germany became divided over the question. More than this: Locher was, as we have noted, a Würtemberger, and the ink-horns of Tübingen were charged in defence of their compatriot, urged

on by Locher, who called attention to the slighting allusions to Suabians in general in some of Wimpheling's writings. But Wimpheling was not ready to do battle with the whole race, and the storm was appeased by his protestations of regard for Suabians who do not place pagan poets on a level with the Evangelists.

Another nation, however, had incurred Wimpheling's antipathy—the Swiss, who had broken loose from the Germanic Empire of which Wimpheling hoped so much. Roused by various events he attacked the Swiss with vigour, finding fault even with their assumption of the name Helvetia, which Wimpheling declared to belong of old time to Elsass.

During this time the literary sodalitas was flourishing in Strassburg, chief among the younger men being Thomas Vogler (Aucuparius) and Mathias Ringmann Philesius, noted as the editor of the Ptolemy of 1507. Brant's high reputation as a legal authority led to his being consulted by the Emperor, and he was the correspondent of many scholars, so that through him, as well as through Wimpheling and Wolf, the literary men of Strassburg were in touch with the humanist movement in Germany. Brant, indeed, numbered among his correspondents both German and Italian scholars, as well as such men as Peutinger of Augsburg and Pirkheimer of Nuremberg, both collectors of antiquities and works of art and permeated with Italian ideas, with whom one might have supposed that the serious-minded Alsatians had little in common. But one must not forget that

if the Alsatians seem to be moralists more than anything else, they were eager for the dissemination of learning properly conducted and fully alive to the value of scholarship.

For three years Wimpheling was the guest at Strassburg of the knight Martin Sturm, and spent the summers at a castle in the country, where Sturm entertained the Strassburg men of letters.

Very appropriately a Roman bas-relief was unearthed during one of these visits, affording an opportunity for speculation and learned disquisition. The treasure-trove was generously presented by the good knight to Wolf, who was probably the most interested in the find.

This gives us a pleasant picture of the more genial side of the sodalitas, for it was not always given up to bickering and controversy. There were festivities sometimes, when distinguished literati from elsewhere were made welcome, and on one of these occasions Erasmus himself was entertained, when the great man was pleased to say pretty things of Strassburg and its citizens. At another time our friends were proud to receive Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola, the guest of his friend Wolf, who gave a banquet in honour of Pico and of Peutinger, who chanced to be passing through the city.

Wimpheling never quite gave up his desire for a life of retirement, and he sought a kind of modified hermit's life by taking charge of a monastery in the Black Forest, which he styles 'in eremo'; but he was still active with his pen, and his renewed attacks upon the mendicant orders

naturally led to recrimination. Wimpheling's irritability, aggravated by his sufferings from gout, increased as the years went by.

One is surprised that he escaped being drawn into the great battle which was now raging in Germany—the Reuchlin affair. Wimpheling had a high regard for Reuchlin, who in turn had sought the advice of both Wimpheling and Brant. But for some reason or other Wimpheling did not join the fray. Perhaps he was deterred by the fear that the Reuchlin party was too much identified with profane poets of the younger generation.

In 1513 Wimpheling was at Schlettstadt, and was already beginning to feel the weight of years. At Schlettstadt a small benefice was found for him, and he remained there henceforth, save for a sojourn 'in eremo,' till his death, declining a pressing invitation to Basel from his old friend, the bishop. He was deterred by the gout and a dread of the 'ferocity' of the people of Basel, whom he had attacked so bitterly for their defection from the Empire.

Wimpheling formed a literary sodalitas at Schlettstadt after the model of the Strassburg society, and had a position there of considerable influence. But the old man's later years were clouded by the apprehension that the younger men were being drawn towards the paganism which he had opposed so fiercely.

A greater change than anything Wimpheling had foreseen was now at hand, nor was its significance at first realised by him. The insistance by the Diet of Augsburg on the grievances of Germany

was approved by him. It seemed the realisation of what he had been struggling for. A little later he was troubled, but joined the meeting of the sodalitas at Schlettstadt which did honour to the names of Luther, Melanchthon and Capito among other promoters of letters.

Only when he saw what a great disruption was threatened did Wimpheling draw back. The old man found himself being deserted even in his own circle at Schlettstadt, to which Bucer and Johann Sapidus and others had formerly belonged. Wimpheling experienced the tragedy of the man who has outlived his day. He wrote letters, but they were ignored—the letters of a man once so revered. This silence was harder than the anonymous railery which Erasmus counselled him to bear with as a part of the upheaval of the century.

In 1525 Wimpheling witnessed an attempt to introduce the reformed doctrines at Schlettstadt itself. Strassburg had already received them. The old man was past any active participation in the contest, and three years later he died, in his seventy-ninth year. He had survived most of his contemporaries, Brant among them, and the literary life of Elsass had entered upon a new phase.

I have dealt at greater length upon Wimpheling than upon the other members of the circle, for he was the foremost and the most typical. He stands out as the accepted leader of the movement.

In spite of their obvious faults, one cannot but feel some sympathy with these humanists of Elsass, and some admiration for their achievements. Their ideals were high; they were fervent and sincere in

upholding their faith in its purity; they were zealous for education and were lovers of letters and the liberal arts; they were patriots, and Wimpheling at least was inspired, as Dante before him, by the hope of universal empire in the hands of an emperor who should be a veritable instrument of God.

Their bitterness, their intolerance, one might add their lack of humour, were the faults of their time and of their cloth. Truly the scholar's gown has enveloped more of malice and vindictiveness than the soldier's tunic; the pen has been more steeped in venom than the sword.

The Empire of which Wimpheling hoped so much has passed away, but of the awakening of the consciousness of a German nationality Wimpheling was truly a forerunner; and the Empire of to-day might well do honour to this patriotic band of men, so essentially German in spirit and outlook.

S. H. Scott.

AN OLD DUBLIN STATIONER'S WILL AND INVENTORY.

THE following brief extract from the Will of a Dublin stationer of the seventeenth century, and the copy of the Inventory of his goods and chattels, is of sufficient interest and value to appear in this Journal. They were taken for me from the documents in the Public Record Office, Dublin. The term 'Stationer' included that of 'Printer' in those days, but I have never met Grover's name in any imprint, and I do not think he did printing. The values set upon his goods by the appraisers for probate purposes were probably low, but it must be remembered that a pound in 1663 was worth much more than £1 now. It will be observed that no details of the books he had are given, only a general value.

E. R. McC. Dix.

WILL OF ISAAC GROVER.

Diocese of Dublin Will 1663.

Isaac Grover of the City of Dublin, Stationer.

Dated 14th August 1663.

To brother John Grover £5
To sister Susanna Skeate, widow 40/-
To sister Ann Smith, the wife of Richard Smith 20/-

To cousin Grizell Grover 40/-
To each of my overseers 20/-.

All the rest of my goods, readie money, wearing apparrel & all other my chattels whatsoever to my brother Thomas Grover, whom I make sole executor. Overseers Thomas King of Dublin, Taylor and Isaac Chalke of the same, Plasterer.

ISAAC GROVER.

Witnesses
RIC. ANDERSON
STEPHEN BLVCKNEY
WILL. PRIDHAM.

[*Seal: An anchor.*]

Proved 12th Sepr 1663
by Thomas Grover, brother
& sole executor.

Inventory of the goods of Isaac Grover, late of the City of Dublin, Stationer, deceased, taken & appraised by Robert Howes, Stationer & William Pridham, Scrivener, both inhabitants of the said city.

10 Sepr 1663.

	£ s. d.
In the Shop, (List given)	22. 11. 3.
In the Chamber (List given)	49. 4. 4.
Total	£71. 15. 7.

ROBERT HOWES
WILL. PRIDHAM.

IN THE SHOP

	£.	s.	d.
Fortie nine Reames of writing paper ordinarie, Murleaux & other mixt sortes at 3d. ꝑ Reame	7.	7.	o.
One Reame of Dutch Medium at		10.	o
Foure Reames of French Cap. & two Quires of blew paper		6.	6
A ꝑcell of course pchmt skinnes valued at	1.	o.	o
Six Skinnes of vellum		5.	o.
Halfe a gross of course pasboard		6.	o
A ꝑcell of gilt paper large & small valued at		18.	o
Five dozen and eleaven small paper bookes bound in leather	3.	5.	6
Sixteen bookes Dutch paper in fol. containing 51 quires at 2d a peece	1.	12.	o
Eleaven books in fol. & six other bookes all ordinarie paper	1.	o.	o
Thirtie three other bookes in parchmt containeing three Reames	1.	o.	o
Three grosse of small paper pictures		8.	o
Eight pound of soft wax		4.	o
Two pound of hard wax		4.	o
Two dozen & two Rules all short but 4		2.	2
A ꝑcell of old Mapps		5.	o
A Small quantitie of inke & another quantitie in making, wanting some ingredients		10.	o

	£.	s.	d.
Eight small draw boxes, three shelves, six ink-hornes, not good, a small pcell of pennes, foure dozen of lead pencills, three lead standishes & four Regalls		8.	o
Sand & other lumber in the shop		5.	o
In book debts	2.	15.	1.
	£22.	11.	3.

In the Chamber.	£.	s.	d.
Fiftie Reames and some loose out side paper	12.	o.	o
Fifteene Reames more of worse paper	1.	17.	6
Seaventeene Reames & an halfe of French Cap.	1.	4.	o
A dozen skinnes of parchment		6.	o
A Reame of French paper		5.	o
A grosse of pasboard		16.	o
Foure paper bookes containeing 16 quires		5.	6
Two dozen & halfe of Rules, foure dozen of ruleing pennes & three pounds of soft wax		6.	o
Three small bookes of mapps		2.	6
Eleaven dozen & tenn small bookes in Oct° & duodec° [at 4^{d} each]	2.	7.	4
An old small feather bed & bolster & an old green coverlett	1.	o.	o
A turn'd chaire, hat brush, small lookeing glass a sword & an old pockett Bible		5.	o

Old lumber valued at		1.	6
Two pairs of sheets & one odd, old & course		10.	0
his wearing apparrel, lynnen & woollen	5.	0.	0
Two truncks & a small box		12.	0
An old Bible new bound		5.	0
In readie moneie twentie pounds	20.	0.	0
Due upon bond	2.	0.	0
A small silver bodkin		1.	0
	£49.	4.	4
Totale is	£71.	15.	7.

ROBERT HOWES
WILL PRIDHAM

THE CHURCH OF ST. MAGNUS AND THE BOOKSELLERS OF LONDON BRIDGE.

THE value of our old church books as historical records has never been, and is not yet, properly recognised. By church books, I mean the churchwardens' books of accounts, vestry minutes, overseers' and other books of a miscellaneous character, which form the records of every parish throughout the kingdom.

To the clerical and lay mind alike, there is only one set of records worth preserving in the parish chest, and that is the parish registers of baptisms, marriages and burials. This is a very grave mistake which in the past has led to the wholesale destruction of valuable records, and which is still responsible for the indifference shewn by so many of our clergy and churchwardens to any books but the parish registers, and for the failure of any sort of system for the preservation or arrangement of these other books, where they still exist.

Invaluable as parish registers must always be, they do not tell us anything about the life of the parish, who were the most influential men in it, and what part they played in its history. They do not tell us anything about the events that brought joy or sorrow to the parishioners, what

set the bells ringing or the bonfires blazing; nor do they shew us how money was raised by the overseers, who paid it, how it was spent, or who benefited by it. For these and many other details of civic life you must go to the churchwardens' books and other parish records mentioned above.

Those who are interested in the history of London have cause to rejoice at the public spirit of the late Deputy White, who exerted himself with wonderful success to induce the clergy of the churches within the city of London to deposit their old church records, other than the registers, in the Guildhall Library.

Amongst those who fell in with Deputy White's scheme were the vicar and churchwardens of St. Magnus the Martyr, in Thames Street. The present church, though standing on exactly the same site as the church of the same name destroyed in 1666, is some distance to the east of London Bridge, whereas the old building stood right up against the north-east corner of Old London Bridge, the explanation of this being that the new bridge was built some distance to the west of the old one.

The parish of St. Magnus extended as far as the drawbridge on Old London Bridge, which, it will be remembered, had buildings upon it on both sides and in the centre down to the year 1760.

It occurred to me that the records of this church might yield some interesting information about the booksellers who at one time and another carried on their business on Old London Bridge, and I was not disappointed.

The earliest churchwardens' account-book, that escaped the fire of 1666, is that covering the period from 1638-1734, a massive folio volume in excellent preservation, into which the churchwardens' annual statements were copied by a professional scrivener, who was paid for his labour. In one respect this custom had its drawbacks—namely, in too much uniformity; on the other hand, it resulted in the entries being set out clearly and in detail. If the churchwarden for the year happened to be a man of some position, his coat-of-arms was tricked by the scribe in the initial letter of the heading at the beginning of the account. For the most part the items of receipt and expenditure are entered very fully, but this, of course, largely depended upon the churchwarden's conception of his duty. Thus under the receipts for burials the name of the person buried, and for whom a knell was tolled, is almost always given, with the position of his grave in the church.

Seeing at what a late date these accounts begin, it is useless to expect any mention of William Pickering, who was the earliest London Bridge bookseller of whom we have any record, or of his successors, Richard Ballard and Hugh Astley; but the opening page of the book yields a valuable note respecting the house in which they carried on their business. This was variously described as 'at Saint Magnus Corner,' or 'under Saint Magnus Church,' and was the shop occupied by John Tapp, bookseller, who died in 1631. There has always been some doubt as to whether this shop escaped the fire which destroyed the houses

on the north-east side of the bridge in 1633. These accounts clear the matter up once for all. Amongst the entries of rents received by the churchwarden in the year ending 25th March, 1639, is a sum of twenty shillings paid by Edward Bellamy for a shop which is described as 'late John Tapp's under St. Magnus Church wall.' Its position, then, is clearly defined. It faced the approach to the bridge from the north, and stood at the corner of Thames Street, and backed on to the church wall. Clearly, then, the fire of 1633 did not reach this shop, which appears annually in the accounts, described in exactly the same words, down to the great fire of 1666. Edward Bellamy, who occupied it from 1631 till his death in 1656, was not a bookseller.

In this same year 1638-9, amongst the payments made by the churchwardens is the following item:

Paid Mr. Hurlock staconer for worke done to the church Bible and for bossing the same . . . . . xjs.

This was evidently George Hurlock, the son of Joseph Hurlock, to whom his father's rights in certain nautical books were transferred by Elizabeth Hurlock, the widow, on 16th January, 1633/4. Where he was living at that time is not clear, but immediately after Edward Bellamy's death in 1656 he took the shop late John Tapp's at St. Magnus' Church Corner.

George Hurlock was senior churchwarden of St. Magnus in the year 1660-61, and he continued to occupy these premises until he was burnt out in 1666. He then built a shed on the same spot,

but died in 1668, and was buried in the middle aisle of the church on 3rd September, the *débris* being cleared away on purpose to allow of his interment. It is a remarkable fact in the history of this church, that though it was entirely destroyed, nothing but a few fragments of wall remaining, burials continued to be made there during the whole time of its reconstruction.

George Hurlock's widow carried on the business and paid rent for the shed under the church wall for about eighteen months after his death, after which we hear no more of her or of the shed; but between 1670 and 1672 several books were published bearing the imprint, 'Printed for Benjamin Hurlock and are to be sold at his shop over against St. Magnus' Church on London Bridge near Thames Street.'

This was no doubt the person whose burial is recorded in the accounts of the year 1673:

> June 16. 1673, Received for the buriall of Benjamin Hurlock in the middle ile . . . . . 13s. 4d. And for the passing bell & knell . . . . . 3s. 4d.

There is nothing to indicate his relationship to George Hurlock, and as he is not found paying rent to the church, his premises were evidently not those previously known as 'John Tapp's.'

In following out this history of the Hurlocks, I have passed over other entries of considerable interest, to which I must now return.

In 1644 the church recovered, through the court of Chancery, a sum of £250 left by a certain Samuel Pettey or Petty, citizen and stationer or

London, a name not hitherto met with by any student of this subject.

In the accounts of the year 1666-67, the name of Thomas Passinger, the well-known bookseller who lived at the sign of the Three Bibles on London Bridge, is first met with, the entry being for the burial of one of his children. This coincides very nearly with the date of the first publication bearing his imprint. In 1671 he is again referred to in another entry of the same character:

Augt. 10. 1671, Received for the burial of a maid of Thomas Passinger in the Tabernacle . . . . . 2s.

and again on 6th March, 1673/4:

Received for the buriall of Mr. Passinger's man in the Tabernacle . . . . . 2s.

Thomas Passinger found time to take an active part in parish work, and he served the office of churchwarden of St. Magnus in the year 1681-82.

The building which had arisen from the ashes of 1666 was still far from complete, and amongst the numerous payments made to workmen during Passinger's year of office, the following are worth recording:

Spent in buying a hogshead of wine to present to Sir Christopher Ren . . . . . 2s.

Spent about attending S^r. Christopher Ren about the steeple . . . . . 4s.

Spent more attending S^r. Christopher Ren about ye steeple . . . . . 2s. 1d.

Paid Collins upon S^r. Christopher Ren's surveigh . . . . . £3.

On 15th October, 1683, the burial of Mr. Charles Passinger in the south aisle of the church is recorded. He carried on the business of a bookseller at the Seven Stars in the New Buildings, and was clearly a relative of Thomas Passinger's, and this entry fixes the period of his occupation of these premises. In the same year the churchwardens

Pd. Mr. Passinger for a booke of Cannons	1s. 6d.
Pd. Mr. Passinger for a common prayer book	£1 7s.

these entries referring to Thomas Passinger. During the wardenship of Mr. Thomas Worley, combmaker, in 1684-5, Passinger's name frequently crops up in such entries as these:

July 15. Paid Mr. Passinger for a booke .	16s. 0d.
Septr. 3. Spent at ye Swanne tavern with Mr. Passinger and my partner . .	3s. 10d.
Novr. 27. Spent with Mr. Passinger & others about parish business . .	3s. 2d.

We already know that Thomas Passinger died in 1688, and the following entry in these accounts shews that he was buried in the Church of St. Magnus:

1688. June 8th. Rec^{d} for the buriall of Mr. Thomas Passinger . . . . . £1 5s. 8d.

His business was carried on for some time by his widow, and in the following year's accounts it is recorded:

1689. March 28. Paid M^{ris} Passinger for some parchment leaves putt into the register booke . . . . . 18s.

She died in 1692, and was also buried in the south aisle of St. Magnus, and the business passed to her nephew, Thomas Passinger, who can be traced until 1695, when he was succeeded by Ebenezer Tracy.

During the next twenty years several entries are met with in these accounts concerning booksellers on the Bridge, confirming what is already known of their history, and in some instances throwing fresh light upon it. Here are some of them:

1703. July 3rd. Recd for the buriall of Mr. John Back in the cloyster . . . . . 9s. 10d.

170¾. Jany 24. Recd for the buriall of a daughter of Mr. Tracey in the lower end of the South Ile . . . . . 16s. 6d.

170¾. Jany 16th. Recd for the buriall of Mr. Blair's maid servant in the Churchyard Alley . . . . . 4s.

1704. Augt 30th. Recd for the buriall of Mr. Tracey's child in the South Ile . . . . . 14s.

1705-6. Recd for the buriall of Sarah, dau of Matthew Hootham, in the Green churchyard . . . . . 9s. 10d.

1706-7. Recd for the buriall of Mr. Joseph Blare, in the new vault . . . . . £1 15s. 8d.

1712-13. Paid ⅝ of 11s. for Mr. Tracy's Common Prayer Book.

1714-15. Recd of Mr. Ebenezer Tracy for his fine for churchwarden only . . . . . £12.

— Recd for the buriall of Mr. Hothum's child in the great vault . . . . . £1 8s. 2d.

— Recd for the buriall of Mr. Blayer in the great vault . . . . . £3 5s.

1717. June 8. Recd for the buriall of Mr. Tracey in the church . . . . . £1 0s. 10d.

John Back, whose burial is recorded above, carried on business as a bookseller at the sign of the Black

Boy on London Bridge, near the drawbridge. He was succeeded by Matthew Hotham, Hootham or Hothum, who was also buried in St. Magnus in 1725.

Joseph Blare, whose burial is recorded above in the accounts for the year 1706-7, is no doubt identical with Josiah Blare, the first tenant of the Looking Glass on London Bridge, whose will was proved on 3rd December, 1706. The other Mr. 'Blayer,' buried in 1714-15, may have been his son Josiah, who was not of age at the time of his father's death; but why so large a sum should have been charged for his interment is a mystery. Nor is it clear who the Mr. 'Tracey' was who was buried on 8th June, 1717. It was certainly not Ebenezer Tracy, who was still at the Three Bibles in the year 1719, as appears from an advertisement in the 'Weekly Journal' of 17th January of that year. It is quite astonishing what an amount of bibliographical information is contained in the sheets that did duty for newspapers in the first half of the eighteenth century. We are apt to look upon them somewhat contemptuously as being too insignificant to contain anything worth notice. And again many students are deterred by the weariness of searching these sheets. But the result fully justifies the labour.

It is not generally known that there were two shops with the sign of the Three Bibles on London Bridge at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In the issue of the 'Post Boy' from Saturday, 2nd January, to Tuesday, 5th January, $17\frac{13}{14}$, appeared the following advertisement:

John Stuart, stationer, at the 3 Bibles, the corner house of the square, about the middle of London Bridge, having a large quantity of fine playing cards, viz. Whiske, Basset, Pickit and Ombro, with divers other sorts, made by the best makers, sealed according to the late Act of Parliament continues still to sell at very reasonable rates (as many have already experienc'd) and gives as much encouragement to the buyer as any man. N.B. He has a variety or sorts of new figur'd paper for hanging of rooms, very cheap.

But not only did Stuart take the same sign, but he also dealt in a quack medicine to which he gave the same name as a similar medicine sold by Ebenezer Tracy and his successors, and called the Balsam of Chili.

In 1724 this called forth a vigorous protest from John Tracy, one of the firm of H. and J. Tracy, inserted in an edition of James Love's 'Mariner's Jewel,' which they issued in that year. In this he says:

All persons are desired to beware of a pretended Balsam of Chili, which for about this seven years past hath been sold and continues to be sold by Mr. John Stuart, at the *Old Three Bibles*, as he calls his sign, although mine was the sign of the Three Bibles twenty years before his.

This last statement seems to throw some doubt on the hitherto accepted belief that Ebenezer Tracy and his successors occupied the same shop as that which had previously been held by Charles Tyus and Thomas Passinger, and whose history began in 1656. It is possible that Thomas Passinger's kinsman who succeeded to the business may have carried the sign to another house on the bridge, as

Ebenezer Tracy's career began about 1694 or '95, which would be just 'twenty years before.'

Later on John Stuart took into partnership Henry Woodgate, and the second volume of these churchwardens' accounts of St. Magnus, beginning in October, 1734, has pasted inside the cover the following printed ticket:

John Stuart and Henry Woodgate stationers at ye Three Bibles ye corner of ye square on London Bridge.

I think the preceding notes show that this firm were dealers in stationery rather than booksellers, and they probably continued to occupy these premises until the demolition of the houses on the bridge in 1750.

Two other eminent booksellers are met with in these churchwardens' accounts. In 1720 we read:

July 11. Thomas Norris for a Bible for W^m^. Magnus apprentice . . . . . 3s.

This refers to Thomas Norris, the bookseller, who succeeded Josiah Blare at the 'Looking Glass,' and it further illustrates a custom common in this as in other parishes of naming bastard children after the parish in which they were found. William Magnus was one of these unfortunates.

In the year 1722-3 Thomas Norris was churchwarden of St. Magnus, and the following entries in his account are worth noting:

paid myselfe for a large Folio Bible for the church, very finely bound. Delivered Decr 24th 1720 . . . . . £6 11s. 3d.

Paid ditto for five large common prayer, 4 for the churchwardens and 1 for the clerk, and new binding two old Bibles . . . . . £3 13s. 9d.

About the following year he appears to have retired from business and settled at Highgate, where he died in the year 1732, but as these churchwardens' accounts shew, he was buried in ground belonging to the united parish of St. Margaret, New Fish Street, on 6th June, 1732, and his will was proved in the Prerogative court of Canterbury on the following day (P.C.C. 174 Bedford).

Thomas Norris was succeeded at the Looking Glass by James Hodges, who also took an active part in the parish life of St. Magnus, to which he frequently supplied books, his yearly bill with the churchwardens amounting to between £2 and £3.

He was churchwarden from Ladyday 1743 to Ladyday 1744, but his account is a very short one, and with little or no detail. It has the appearance of an account kept by a very busy man in the midst of other duties. On 17th June, 1755, he signed the statement of accounts presented by the outgoing churchwarden, Mr. Robert Hale, this being the last time his name occurs in the book. Soon afterwards he also retired from business and was appointed Clerk to the City of London. In 1758 he became Sir James Hodges, being knighted on the occasion of presenting an address to the King. He died in 1774, but the place of his burial is not known.

HENRY R. PLOMER.

THE SO-CALLED GUTENBERG DOCUMENTS.[1]

IN considering Gutenberg's capacity for executing the large amount of work attributed to him by his admirers, we must remember his position and circumstances before and during the five years (1450 to 1455) covered by the Helmasperger document. We know that in 1450, when he obtained his first advance from Fust, he had already been in debt for eight years at Strassburg, and for two years at Mainz. After having lived in the former place in apparent luxury from 1436 to 1439 (see above, Doc. No. ix.), he borrowed there, on 17th November, 1442, eighty pounds Strassburg denarii from the St. Thomas Stift (see above, Doc. No. xiii.), which he never repaid, though the annual interest of 5 per cent. (= four pounds) on this loan seems to have been regularly paid by him (or his surety?) till the 11th November, 1457, when he defaulted (see below, Doc. No. xxii.).

On 17th October, 1448, he contracted a fresh loan,[2] borrowing from two Mainz citizens, through

[1] Continued from page 313.

[2] Zedler ('Gutenberg-Forsch.' p. 81) assumes that, with this loan, Gutenberg fitted up his work-shop, and made preparations for the printing of a Missal, so far that when, in about a year's time, he came to the wealthy Fust for money, the latter lent him a willing ear. But this is against the evidence of the Helmasperger instrument.

his relative Arnold Gelthuss, 150 gold guilders at 5 per cent. This debt, too, remained unpaid, and was still outstanding in 1503 (five-and-thirty years after Gutenberg's death), while there is no record of any interest having ever been paid on it.

It is not surprising, therefore, that in August, 1450, when he contracted a third still heavier debt with John Fust, he does not offer his money-lender as security any printing-office, or a press or presses, or types, patrices, matrices, or other printing tools, which he must have possessed if, as some bibliographers contend, he had already been printing, since 1443 or earlier, German Sibylline books, Donatuses, Astronomical Kalendars, and other works. No; he merely pledges 'tools' which he had still to make with the money which he then (in 1450) borrowed from Fust. Hence he must, in 1450, have been destitute of any property or any printing apparatus such as an ordinary printer would have mortgaged under similar circumstances. Nor is it surprising that, in 1450, he implied by his (verbal or written?) agreement with Fust that he was penniless, and even unable to subsist, or to pay his workmen, his house-rent, etc., unless Fust furnished him with the necessary cash. Nor can we wonder that after the lapse of barely two years (on 1st December, 1452) he asked Fust for more money.

A man thus situated may be a 'genius' or a person of 'iron energy,' he may be even an 'inventor,' and possess all the fine talents attributed to him (see Zedler, 'Gutenberg-Forsch.' pp. 50, 95, 115, etc.; *id.* in 'Centralbl.' 1907, p. 198). But

experience teaches us that sooner or later his depressing circumstances begin to blunt his qualities; from one debt he runs into another[1]; he lacks the energy to economize,[2] were it only for a while, in order to extricate himself from his pecuniary difficulties; he begins to neglect his work; finds no longer anyone willing to lend him more money; at last his creditors press him for repayment, and —the end is not far off.

It would seem that Gutenberg's career after his first appearance as a borrower in 1442, was no exception to the almost invariable rule. The course which he evidently had expected Fust to adopt towards him was somewhat analagous to that of a benevolent Maecenas, indifferent as to how much money he would spend on the particular work he cared for, provided he saw it done at some time or another by the person whom he favoured. Fust was first to lend him 800 guilders

[1] It seems certain that Gutenberg was assisted also by other Mainz citizens, one of them being Johann Medinbach. Serarius states, in 1604 ('Moguntiacarum rerum libri quinque,' p. 162 *sqq.*), that 'Gutenberg, after having lost nearly all his substance through the difficulties of the art, at last accomplished the work by the aid of Johann Fusth, Johann Medinbach and other fellow citizens,' and that he derived this information from a MS. of Trithemius and the Chronicle of Sebast. Münster. Bernard ('Orig.' ii., 16), and Van der Linde ('Buchdruckerk.' p. 113), discredited this statement, because they only knew *Jacob* Medenbach, a Mainz printer of the end of the fifteenth century. But Velke ('Festschrift,' p. 415) points out that *Johann* Medenbach is now known from genuine documents, so that there is no longer any reason for rejecting Serarius' statement (see also Zedler, 'Forsch.' p. 86).

[2] We must not forget Gutenberg's well-filled wine-cellar of 1436 to 1439 (Doc. No. ix., above).

to enable him to make tools preparatory to another work, and in the meantime give him annually 300 guilders for his living, for paying his house-rent and workmen, and supply him besides with parchment, paper, ink, and other things (etceteras).

Fust, however, appears not to have been such a Croesus as he is always depicted to us, but to have been compelled himself to borrow at the high rate of 6 per cent. the money which he advanced. He would, therefore, have acted recklessly if he had incurred additional heavy expenses for the second part of a work (parchment, paper, ink) before Gutenberg had finished the first part (the tools—that is, his types, a press, etc.) so necessary for starting. That Gutenberg asked for maintenance, and wanted a house while he was engaged on making his tools, seems natural, but workmen's wages, parchment, paper, ink, etc., were not required until his types and press were ready.

Fust is usually represented to us

as a crafty, greedy money-lender, who saw the advantages of Gutenberg's industrial work, and was determined to profit by it, no matter what injustice he would inflict on his victim, and, therefore, did not advance the money out of his own pocket, but purposely *borrowed* it, as he wished to have Gutenberg completely in his grip, in case the latter should fail in his performances.

But the verdict shows that the Tribunal refused interest to Fust, unless he could prove that he had 'borrowed' the money which he advanced. If such proceedings were possible at Mainz, Fust acted properly and in self-defence by borrowing

the money with which he assisted Gutenberg. Why then should he be condemned for having done so? It is not improbable that Fust had no desire at first, as Gutenberg says, to charge any interest, but that as time went on, and Gutenberg produced no tangible result, he felt compelled to demand interest, if it were only as much as he paid himself.

We know now enough of the art of printing as it must have been carried on from its invention—say, about 1445, till, say, 1480—to feel sure that the establishment of a printing-office required no exorbitant capital, as the early printers manufactured their own types, and very likely made their own presses, wherever they settled.

Van der Linde ('Geschichte,' p. 810) points out that the 1,600 guilders advanced by Fust (a large sum for the middle of the fifteenth century) ought to have sufficed for Gutenberg's purpose, seeing that the records of the monastery of St. Ulrich at Augsburg (see Braun, 'Notitia de libris in Biblioth. Monast., 1788, p. 9) show that the Abbot Melchior von Stamhaim, when establishing a printing-office there in 1472, purchased five presses and some other tools from Johann Schüssler for 73 guilders; had five other smaller presses made for him; had types cast for him, and began to print in 1473. The preparation of all necessaries had taken him a year, and cost him 702 guilders.

This is the picture of an ecclesiastic fully acquainted perhaps with the art of printing, and no doubt living under happier conditions than Gutenberg. The latter, if we regard the 1455

lawsuit as genuine, and take it as our guide, had, in 1450, to begin life as a printer, and before he could print anything had to manufacture his tools, and, while already handicapped by two outstanding debts, had to borrow fresh money for the purpose. A man in such circumstances could not progress like a well-to-do Augsburg Abbot, a quarter of a century later, when the art of printing was no longer a novelty.

The authors of the 'Gutenberg-Gesellschaft,' however, represent Gutenberg as much better off in 1450 than the Abbot Stamhaim in 1472. Gutenberg, they say, the inventor of the new art of printing, was already so fully experienced and equipped in this new art before 1448 that, towards the end of 1447, he could print an Astronomical Kalendar so 'masterly' in his *second* type, that we must suppose it to have been preceded by many experiments (printed in this and his *first* type).

If we were to accept this view, and the 'experienced' Gutenberg had had his heart in the business, the money advanced by Fust ought to have enabled him to cast a type for B^{42} and to print it, and likewise to cast a new type for B^{36} and to print it.[1] But, says the Helmasperger instrument, Gutenberg demanded 800 guilders for his 'tools' alone, leaving, therefore, only 750 of the 1,550 guilders which Fust (in his sworn declaration) stated to have advanced, for the other

[1] On the prices of material for books, parchment, paper, etc., about 1440-50, and the time which is supposed to have been required (not more than a year) for the printing of B^{42}, see an interesting discussion by Zedler in 'Centralbl.' 1907, p. 203 *sqq.*

part of the 'work' mentioned in the document. This was not a large margin for Gutenberg's own sustenance; it was certainly insufficient for the payment, during a period of five years, of workmen's wages, house-rent, parchment, paper, ink, etc., which were all required for the printing of the Bible or Bibles ascribed to him.

But suppose Gutenberg had, in November, 1455, or earlier,[1] progressed so far with the B42 (not to speak of other work) that a complete copy of it could be in the hands of a rubricator by August, 1456 (the Mazarine copy in the Paris Nat. Library), barely eight months after the trial. In such a case Fust must have known what Gutenberg had accomplished, more particularly he must have been for a long time in possession of the pledge (Gutenberg's tools), reserved to him by the 1450 contract, for his first 800 guilders. Anyhow, he must have known it if Gutenberg had made these tools. So that, if Fust, in spite of all that he knew and must have seen with his own eyes, from 1450 till 1455, brought in 1455 an action against Gutenberg for the repayment of his advances and unpaid interest, Gutenberg could and should have pleaded that he had not only manufactured his tools, pledged to Fust for his first 800 guilders, but had also, by means of them, printed a Bible in two folio volumes on vellum and on paper, as a more than sufficient equivalent for Fust's second 800 guilders. Instead of taking such an obvious course, Gutenberg gives the Tribunal to

[1] Zedler ('Centralbl.' 1907, p. 202 *sqq.*) thinks that B42 was finished so early as 1453 (see below, p. 410).

understand that (1) practically he had done nothing, as Fust had failed to pay in full, or at once after the completion of the contract, the first 800 guilders, for which he was to make his tools; (2) that he hoped or trusted that he had not been obliged to lay out any part of this sum on the 'work of the books' (which can hardly mean anything but that he had not laid out anything on such work, *i.e.*, had not printed any books); (3) that Fust had also failed in furnishing him with various necessaries (such as parchment, paper, ink, etc.), so that he was not indebted to him for anything, and was ready to account for the second 800 guilders.

Thus the plain wording of the Helmasperger document, combined with Gutenberg's straitened circumstances, before and after 1450-5, force the conclusion on us that he had not made his tools or instruments (a press and types?) either in 1452, when Fust lent him the second 800 guilders, or in 1455, when he was summoned before the Mainz Tribunal for repaying Fust's advances. The document seems also to show that Gutenberg could never have printed anything, certainly not large folio Bibles like B^{36} and B^{42}, as Fust had apparently never supplied the paper, parchment, ink, money for maintenance, house-rent, workmen's wages, etc., which Gutenberg had expected from him. If Fust had done so, he would have mentioned it at the trial, or added these extras to the amount of his two cash advances. Gutenberg, in his embarrassed circumstances, could not have contributed a penny towards these extras, even if he had wished to.

Some authors think that at the trial everyone endeavoured to keep the new art secret, and, therefore, avoided to mention particulars. Fust, for various reasons, might have wished to do so. But Gutenberg (who saw his secret in the hands of his enemy, eager to appropriate its fruit and glory to himself) should have told the judges, and all those interested in the trial, that he had invented the new art, if he had done so. At any rate, he might, in a few words, have explained the expression 'the work of the books,' and what portion of the first or the second 800 guilders he had devoted to it. Having already used once this phrase, he could not betray the secret of his invention much further by his explanation, and the world would have known whether he really had invented or printed anything.

But it may be said Gutenberg must have produced something satisfactory during the two years and three and a half months that elapsed after the first advance (in 1450), otherwise Fust would not have lent him more in 1452. Of this, however, we cannot be sure, not knowing Fust's reason for making a second advance, except that he stated to have advanced it to please Gutenberg. The latter may have pleaded difficulties in preparing the work, and Fust may have thought that by helping him further he might prevent a collapse. Anyhow, neither in the lines 1 to 22, which are introductory, nor in the lines 22 to 47, which are the most important part of the Helmasperger document, as containing the statements which the plaintiff and defendant made on the first day of the trial, is

there one word to indicate that Gutenberg had produced anything for the money advanced by Fust. On the contrary, the fact that Fust claimed repayment of the whole of his advances, with interest thereon, seems to show clearly that he knew of no work having ever been done by Gutenberg. So far, therefore, there is nothing in the document to prevent us from assuming that from the 15th August, 1450, till the 1st December, 1452, Gutenberg defrayed the cost of his own living, the rent of his abode or workshop, and the wages of his servant or servants, whoever they were, out of the first 800 (or 750) guilders advanced to him; and that in November or December, 1452, he gave Fust to understand that he was dissatisfied, and obtained a second advance of 800 guilders, which seems to have gone the same way as the first 800, during the two years and eleven months between 1st December, 1452, and 31st October, 1455. We read that a servant and a workman of Gutenberg were present at the proceedings of the 6th November, 1455, but it is not stated how long they had been in his employ, or whether he had engaged any other workmen; consequently we cannot calculate how much, if anything, he might have paid out on wages.

The remaining part of the instrument is the Verdict (lines 47 to 54) passed on a previous occasion, after the litigants had stated their case:

(1) Whereas such claim, answer, reply and epilogue with these and many other words have thus been stated, we legally pronounce: (2) When Gutenberg has rendered [= shall have rendered (?)] his account of all receipts and

disbursements which he has laid out on the work for the use of them both; (3) whatever less[1] money he then has received and taken in concerning it,[1] that shall be reckoned

[1] The clauses 2 and 3 read in the original: 'Wan Johann Guttenberg sin rechnung gethain hat von allen Innemen vnd uszgeben dasz er uff daz werck zu irer beiden nocz uszgeben hait, was er dan *men* gelts dar uber empfanngen vnd ingenommen hait das,' etc. Senckenberg and Köhler, followed by Van der Linde, erroneously printed *nun* for *men*, which latter is correct, though it has hitherto been misunderstood. Dziatzko ('Gutenbergfrage,' p. 34, note), and Schorbach ('Festschr.' 1900, p. 259, note 7), explain it as meaning *more*. Zedler ('Gutenberg-Forsch.' page 65, note 3) thinks that it is the same as *mein*, found in the compounds *mein-kouf*, *mein-rat*, . . . *menrehte*, and in Mod. Germ. *mein-eid*, and that it here means 'unjustly' (*widerrechtlich*). The word *men*, however, is the same as the Mid. Dutch *min*, *myn* (see Verdam, 'Middelned. Woord.' *in voce;* also Geo. Friedr. Benecke and Matth. Lexer, 'Mitt. hochd. Wörterbb.'; especially Schiller und Lübben, Mittel-Niederdeutsches Wörterb.' *in voce*, *min*)=Mod. Dutch *minder*, and can only mean *less* (Germ. *weniger*), a meaning which refers to Gutenberg's pleadings that he had not received from Fust the whole of the first 800 guilders, and also the judges' decision that the amount not received by Gutenberg shall be calculated in (=deducted from) the (first) 800 guilders, *i.e.*, he shall not be held responsible for more than he could prove to have received from Fust.

The above note has at my request already appeared in the 'Centralblatt für Bibliothekwesen,' 1910, p. 456, with two replies to it, one from Dr. H. Degering, another from Dr. Paul Schwenke. The former says that the change of ī to ē (in a closed syllable before liquids), which my explanation would presuppose, is not uncommon; the Helmasperger document itself has *volnbrengen* instead of *volnbringen*, so that *men* for *mīn* is possible. But he adds that I have overlooked that the comparative *min* (*weniger*) had, in 1455, been superseded by the fuller form *minder* (*minner*, *minre*, etc.), while by the side of this fuller form a new positive *min*, *minne* (of little value, less valuable=*minderwertig*) had arisen, which is here out of the question. He thinks, therefore, that *men* in this case is really *me* (*mehr*, more) with a final nasal sound (*Nachklang*) caused by the *g* of *gelts* following.

It is difficult to accept Dr. Degering's reasoning. He seems to

in the 800 guilders; (4) but if it should be found in the account that he [Gutenberg] has paid out for him [Fust] more than 800 guilders which had not come in their common good, he [Gutenberg] shall return it to [Fust], (5) and when Fust adduces by oath or by reasonable evidence that he has borrowed the above money on interest, and not lent it of his own money, then Gutenberg shall also render and pay such interest, according to the tenor of the schedule.

This verdict is followed (in lines 54 to 65) by Fust's sworn declaration regarding the amount of his claim, which he had been ordered to make in Gutenberg's presence, but which he now (6th November, 1455) made in his absence. This

have overlooked the fact that official and notarial documents of all countries retain old words and expressions, and old forms of words, long after their disappearance from the conversational and book language. He admits that at some time or other the comparative *men*, *min*, had, in Mid. German, the meaning *weniger* (less). Benecke says it occurs seldom in Mh. D.; it is by no means rare in Mid. D. (see Verdam, Kiliaen, Oudemans). We may, therefore, take it for granted that when it occurs in a Mid. German document of not later than 1455, where a meaning *weniger* (less) is required to make sense, it is not any other word, certainly not the word *more*, Germ. *mehr*, as our document expresses this meaning, as Dr. Degering admits, four times—namely, three times (lines 24, 28, 51) by the usual *me*, and once (line 65) by the equally usual *mer*. As I requested two scholars—familiar with Mid. German, but knowing nothing of the Gutenberg question—to translate the above quotation without looking at anything else, and without a hint from me as to the word in dispute, and they both also translated *men* by 'less,' I adhere to my translation and to the above explanation. Dr. Schwenke, who also translated *men* by 'more,' is of opinion that the meaning 'less' is suitable only when 'dar uber' after *gelts* could mean 'concerning it.' But by this expression I translate 'dar uber,' and not by 'above that,' as his version would have it.

declaration, preceded by the notary's introductory statement (lines 54-56),

When such verdict was read in the presence of the aforenamed her Heinrich etc. Heinrich and Bechtolff servants of the said johann guttenberg, etc.,

runs as follows (li. 56-64):

(6) the said Johann fust swore in my [the notary's] hand that everything concluded in a schedule, according to the verdict, which he also handed to me, was entirely true and correct, and the schedule ran as follows: (7) I Johannes Fust have taken up 1550 (*Sexhezendehalp*) guilders which Gutenberg has received and which also have gone on our common work; (8) on which I have annually given interest and loss, and of which I still owe a part; (9) I calculate for every 100 guilders, which I have taken up in this way as is written above, annually six guilders; (10) what he has received of this borrowed money, which has not gone on the work of us both, which is found in the account, of that I claim from him the interest, in accordance with the verdict (11) and that this is also true I will maintain as is right in accordance with the verdict on the first article of my claim.

Clause 2 of the Verdict shows that Gutenberg was expected to produce an account of all 'receipts' and 'disbursements laid out by him on the work for the use of them both.' This account he appears not to have rendered; at any rate, he could not have handed it in personally on the 6th November, 1455, as he then remained absent, and those who were present on that day on his behalf stated that they had only been commissioned by him to hear what would happen (see THE

LIBRARY, 1909, p. 400). We do not know, therefore, whether Gutenberg had made any 'disbursements on the work for the use (or good) of them both.'

The 'receipts' here alluded to seem to be the 'instalments' of the first 800 guilders which Gutenberg acknowledged to have received from Fust from time to time [not at once], but which he said fell short of the full 800 for which he had asked. They could hardly be 'receipts' from the sale of books or broadsides or other documents printed by Gutenberg before November, 1455.

Zedler ('Forsch.' p. 91), however, thinks that Gutenberg had derived 'receipts' from his smaller works, and utilized them for his 'master-piece' (*i.e.*, $B42$). He also tells us (*ibid.*, p. 96), without giving any authority, that in 1454 Pfister (unacquainted with the art of cutting and casting type, *ibid.*, p. 102) purchased from Gutenberg the $B36$ type for an undoubtedly large sum, and used it for some time at Mainz. And he likewise asserts ('Forsch.' p. 67 *sqq.*; 'Centralbl.' 1907, p. 200 *sqq.*) that the words, 'das sich in rechnung erfindet' (=that is found in the account), in Fust's oath (line 63, clause 10, above) show that Gutenberg had actually produced his account.

The wording of the tenth clause is, indeed, not clear, and therefore capable of being interpreted in more ways than one. It stands to reason, however, that Fust speaks there of his own account, not of one rendered by Gutenberg. Clause 2 (of the Verdict), when read in its context, is not doubtful on this point: the words ('was er dan') 'whatever

he then,' etc., plainly refer to an account to be rendered, not to one already handed in. Again, if Fust had referred, in clause 10, to an account actually produced by Gutenberg, he would have spoken of *his* (*i.e.*, Gutenberg's), not merely of 'the account.' Though this seems obvious enough, Zedler illustrates his strange interpretation of the tenth clause by such an ingenious explanation of this Gutenberg 'account' that it must be mentioned here. After having discussed the prices of parchment, paper, etc., about 1440-50, he calculates that the printing of B42 could have been accomplished in twelve months, and, accepting the suspicious year 1453 written in the Klemm copy (at Leipzic) as genuine, he draws up the chief items of the 'account' which he believes Gutenberg to have handed in on the 6th November, 1455, and to have contained his 'disbursements' to the precise amount of 750 guilders laid out by him in one year on the printing of B42.

Here is this Gutenberg-account as drawn up by Zedler ('Centralbl.' 1907, p. 207):

Subsistence of the workmen . .	300	guilders
Parchment for 16 copies . . .	192	„
38 Reams of paper for 54 copies[1] .	38	„
Wages	150	„
Rent of Office	50	„
Printing-ink	20	„
	750	guilders[2]

[1] On p. 88 *sqq.* of his 'Gutenberg-Forsch.' Zedler calculated that 240 (!) copies were printed of B42; that, therefore, Gutenberg required 162 (!) reams of paper; or 180 copies on paper and 20 on

Zedler explains that these expenses run over the one year which he supposes the printing of B42 to have required. Elsewhere he seems to be of opinion that Gutenberg began to make his tools, say, in July, 1450, so that, if we assume with him that the year '1453' in the Klemm copy is genuine, and refers to about the beginning of 1453, Gutenberg would have accomplished the manufacture of his tools and the printing of B42 in about two and a half years (July, 1450, to January, 1453), that is, eighteen months (and 800 guilders) for the tools, and a year (and 750 guilders) for the printing of the Bible. But Zedler does not explain the gap of about two and a half years which his calculation leaves between the beginning of 1453 (when B42 is said to have been finished,[1] and Gutenberg had so carefully husbanded Fust's advances that only 50 guilders are not properly accounted for), and, say, October, 1455, when the law-suit may be supposed to have begun. If Gutenberg had finished his tools, say, in February or March, 1452, and about the

parchment, to make a round 200; but Schwenke's calculations induced him to assume an edition of 270 copies, of which 30 on parchment.

[2] Trithemius relates that Peter Schoefter had told him that 4,000 guilders(!) had been spent on the work before the third quire had been finished.

[1] Schwenke ('Gutenbergfeier,' p. 57, 63 *sqq.*) calculates that 200 copies were printed; that the work was commenced in the second half of 1453, and finished about the time of the lawsuit—that is, the middle of 1455. From 1450(!) to the end of 1453 Gutenberg had been making 'experiments,' which seems to imply that Schwenke dates Gutenberg's career as printer from 1450(!).

beginning of 1453 had finished also the printing of B4², he could not have executed this work without Fust's knowledge, as the latter had advanced the money for it. Fust must have known it if Gutenberg's tools (pledged to him for his first advance) had been ready in 1452; he must have come to know it if, say, 200 copies of a large folio Bible, in two volumes, printed by a novel mechanism by the help of his own money, were, or had been, lying ready in their printing-office (erected also by his own money) since the beginning of 1453, for an eventual sale in the book-markets of the time. And yet, in, or shortly before, November, 1455—fully three or four years after Fust had seen, or could have seen, every day during that period this printing-office at work, with its store of types, presses, parchment, paper, and printing, say, 200 copies of a large folio Bible of more than 1,280 pages, all by means of his own money—Fust, as if he had seen nothing, takes it into his head to prosecute Gutenberg, the creator of all this work, and claims from him, not merely repayment of his capital by means of which all these marvels had been produced, but interest on this capital and interest on the interest. And Gutenberg, the victim, merely tells the tribunal what he had *expected* from Fust five years ago, at the commencement of their relations, and that he himself had *undertaken* to make 'tools' as a pledge for the money advanced to him, but remains silent as to whether he had ever *delivered* or *finished* these tools or had actually printed anything with them, and finally, on the second day of the trial, merely

absented himself without any further troubling himself about Fust or his printing work. Such strange things could hardly have happened at Mainz during the years 1450 to 1455! Having already explained above the reasons for ascribing B42, and all the books printed in the same type, to Peter Schoeffer, I do not dwell further on this point.

Clause 2 of the Verdict refers to the 'work for the use of them both,' which seems to suggest that Gutenberg was supposed to have done 'work' also for his own use, apart from 'work' for the common use of himself and Fust. This special work must have been the 'tools' which Gutenberg had undertaken to make, and which, though he pledged them to Fust for the latter's advances, he continued to regard as 'his' tools, having reserved to himself the right of redeeming them by repaying Fust's first 800 guilders. It is strange that such separate work could have been intended or accepted by the latter, as with mere 'tools' he could do nothing. The clauses 3 and 4 of the Verdict as they stand suggest that the judges knew nothing of *two* sums of 800 guilders, only of one; that they decided that Gutenberg (who alleged not to have received from Fust the whole first 800 guilders) would not be responsible for more than he had received. But if he had paid out more than 800, and not to the 'common' good, he should repay the surplus. But as the plaintiff and defendant both speak of two advances of 800 guilders each, and say that the *first* 800 had been for Gutenberg's 'tools,' the Verdict could only

mean that if he could show that he had not received the whole of these 800, he would not be responsible for more than he had received of that amount, and that as regards the second 800, if he had paid out anything above that sum which had not gone on their common good, he would have to repay it to Fust, and the latter would be entitled to interest, if he showed or swore that he had *borrowed* the money, and not lent it out of his own pocket. In other words, if Gutenberg had received of the first 800 guilders no more than, say, 700, but had paid, say, 900 on the second account, without being able to show that this surplus of 100 guilders had all gone on the 'common' work, he would owe Fust 700 + 900 = 1,600 guilders, besides the interest, if any.

The wording and meaning of the fifth clause are clear, and show that Fust had nothing further to do than to state on oath whence he had procured the money which he had advanced to Gutenberg.

In Fust's oath (clauses 6 to 11) is mentioned another schedule (*Zettel*), which he had handed to the Notary Helmasperger. It seems to have stated, in compliance with the Verdict, certain particulars the correctness of which Fust had to confirm on oath. He declares (clause 6) to have borrowed 1,550 guilders for Gutenberg, which had also gone on 'our common work,' whereas on the previous occasion, and in his account, he had mentioned 1,600. Zedler ('Centralbl.' 1907, p. 200 *sqq.*) argues that Fust in his oath spoke only of 1,550 guilders, because he 'had seen from Gutenberg's account' that the second 800 guilders

advanced by him had not been entirely spent on the printing of B4², but that 50 guilders 'nit uff unser beder werck gangen ist' ('had not gone on the work of us both'); though he claims the interest for the 50 just as well as for the other money. In 1901 Zedler had told us ('Forsch.' p. 86) that Gutenberg, in his 'account' concerning B4², charged 50 guilders for the manufacture of the types of the 31-line Indulgence, paying himself for the 30-line Indulgence types, while the parchment was supplied by the ecclesiastics in charge of the Indulgence. These explanations, however, are incompatible with the tenor of the Helmasperger document. Fust speaking of 1,600 guilders probably indicated his claim by a round sum. But when he had to confirm it by oath, he stated the exact amount—that is, 1,550 guilders. Or perhaps he had, in the first instance, borrowed and advanced no more than 750 guilders, and hence, probably, Gutenberg's complaint that he had not received 'the whole' of the first 800 guilders. The point seems to be immaterial to the question whether Gutenberg had done any printing, though it may perhaps be regarded as a proof of Fust having wished to avoid further commitments as much as possible.

Of some importance seems Fust's statement that the 1,550 guilders had '*gone on* our common work' (clause 7). It could not mean, however, that 'our common work,' or part of it, had been done or finished, as in such a case, as has been pointed out above, Fust would have had no claim on Gutenberg. It seems to mean only, 'I [Fust] have

advanced [and Gutenberg has received] the money for our common work, but having as yet seen nothing of it, I claim my money back.'

This harmonizes with Fust's statement in clause 8 that he had paid annual interest and loss on the borrowed money, and *still owed part of it*, implying that Gutenberg had not repaid any part of his debt, or paid any interest on it, either in cash or in kind.

Clause 9 we need not discuss, as we know the amount of these interest charges from the earlier parts of the document. Clause 10, as is said above, becomes obscure when it is compared with some statements in the earlier part of the instrument. Firstly, 'account' may be thought to refer to one rendered by Gutenberg, though it seems to be a wrong inference (see above, p. 408). Secondly, Fust refers here to his advances in somewhat indefinite language. He speaks not of 2,026 guilders, as on the first day of the trial, nor of 1,550 guilders (with the interest thereon) which, according to clause 7, he had borrowed, but of 'the interest on whatever Gutenberg had received of this borrowed money (1,550 guilders) that had not gone on the work of us both.'

Had Fust then heard of Gutenberg having made disbursements for things unconnected with what he regarded as the 'work of us both'? There is nothing in the document to enlighten us, and the end of the law-suit is not known. If Gutenberg had made anything substantial with Fust's money —if, for instance, he had manufactured his 'tools' and 'printed' anything—why did he not refer to it

on the first day of the trial, and plead that Fust had no right to prosecute him or to claim anything from him. Therefore the vague and indefinitely worded clauses 2, 3, 4 (the Verdict), 7, 8 to 10 (Fust's oath), of part iii. of the instrument, are the only clauses in the whole document from which we may infer that Gutenberg had done or intended to do 'something' which Fust regarded as the 'work of them both.' Neither the plaintiff nor the defendant tell us how *much* this was, or what its nature.

The remaining part iv. (the lines 65 to 77) is merely a final statement of the notary about the copies of the instrument to be supplied by him to Fust, his affirmation of the truth, etc., and, therefore, immaterial to an interpretation of the document. It runs as follows (line 65):

As I have done to the aforenamed Johan guttenberg about and to all matters touched upon, the abovenamed Johannes fust desires from me public scrivener one or more open Instruments As many and often as he may need them And all the above written matters passed in the Year Indiction day hour papacy Coronation month and place above named in the presence of the honourable men *peter gransz* Johann *Kist* Johann *Kumoff* Johann *yseneck* Jacop *fust* citizen at mainz *peter Girnszheim* and Johannes *Bonne* clerics of Mainz City and Bishopric as witnesses specially asked and summoned.

Here, after line 69, is a blank space of about ten lines, and then, indented towards the right, the notary's final statement and signature:

And I Vlrich helmasperger Clerk of the Bishopric Bamberg of the imperial power public writer, and of the

holy see at Mainz sworn notary, as I have been present with the abovenamed witnesses at all the abovementioned points and articles as is written above and have heard them also—for this reason have I made this open Instrument, written by another, signed with my hand, and with my ordinary sign demanded about it and requested in testimony and true instrument of all aforewritten things.

The document is endorsed:

Instrument of an appointed day when Fust made his reckoning, and confirmed it with an oath,

which some authors think emanated from Gutenberg; that, therefore, the present copy may be his, and the endorsement his handwriting. But as documents of this kind are always, even to the present day, officially endorsed, there seems to be no ground for these speculations. The commencement, however, of the above statement, 'As I have done to,' etc., may imply that the notary had also supplied Gutenberg with a copy or copies of the instrument.

On the left of this indented subscript is Helmasperger's notarial mark, with his signature Vlricus Helmasperger Notarius.

It is usually said that Fust managed to obtain a verdict so favourable to himself that he was able to appropriate the whole of Gutenberg's work, and in this way to ruin his former partner. But there is nothing in the Verdict to justify such an opinion. On the contrary, it seems to have been rather favourable and considerate to Gutenberg, if we are

to believe all that Fust brings forward in his own behalf. The Verdict left Gutenberg free to disregard Fust's claim to the first 800 guilders or any portion of it if he could show that, as he pleaded, he had not received the whole 800. And as regards the second 800, if Gutenberg had spent more than this sum on things which were not to their common good, he should repay the excess to Fust. The latter, by the fifth clause of his sworn declaration, practically agrees with the Verdict, only stipulating that he should receive interest on all the money not spent on their common work. It is, therefore, not easy to see anything unfair towards Gutenberg in the tribunal's decision.

The above analysis of the Verdict will, it is hoped, make the tribunal's decision clear regarding both the first 800 guilders (for the tools) and the second 800 (for their 'common work' or their 'common good'). We may analyze the Helmasperger Instrument as much as we please, it gives us no ground for asserting that Gutenberg was the inventor of printing, or that he could have printed much between 1450 and 1455, if anything at all. Let us ask two questions and endeavour to answer them: (1) Did Gutenberg make the 'tools' which he himself said he was bound to make for the first 800 guilders borrowed from Fust? If he did, they must have been delivered to Fust, to whom they were pledged for his first advance of 800 guilders, and if Fust had received them, he could not have sued Gutenberg for repayment of this first advance. Gutenberg had, indeed, reserved to himself the right of redeeming his tools by repaying

Fust the first 800 guilders; but there is no mention in the whole of the Helmasperger document of such a redemption, nor of any completion or delivery of the tools. On the contrary, Gutenberg's pleading, in 1455, that the first 800 guilders, for which he had to make them, had not been paid to him, or not at once (at the time of borrowing, in 1450), implies that he had all along considered himself released not only from delivering, but even from making, the tools.

The second question to ask is: What was the 'common work' or the 'common good' of which they talk? The document gives no details of it. Gutenberg, however, speaks once of the 'work of the books,' at the very moment when he repudiates the idea of having to devote the first 800 guilders to such work. And the tribunal apparently decide that, if the cost of this work amounted to 800 guilders or less, everything would be right; but if Gutenberg had laid out more on it, he should repay the excess.

Now, if the first question asked above must be answered in the negative, we need not anxiously search for an answer to the second question, as, without having made the 'tools' (which are assumed to have been intended for 'printing') neither Gutenberg nor Fust could have done any printing. And if we endeavoured to answer it in the affirmative, why then did not Gutenberg state that he had made and delivered, or redeemed, the 'tools,' as in either case Fust would have had no grounds for bringing an action for the recovery of his money, at least of the first 800 guilders?

Whatever may have been the bearing and result of the law-suit, one thing is certain: in 1457-8, barely a year after the date of the Helmasperger Instrument, Gutenberg was bankrupt, unable to pay even the comparatively small annual interest on the loan contracted by him fifteen years before at Strassburg (see below, Document xxii., etc.). Immediately after his failure to pay, the Strassburg St. Thomas Stift took steps to have him arrested, leaving him no peace, and following him and his surety wherever they saw the chance of apprehending them. They appear to have traced him to Mainz, but were, for some reason or other, unable to lay hands on him; or perhaps he evaded his pursuers, being assisted in this course by the fact that Strassburg, as has been said, had no power over any Mainz citizen.

J. H. Hessels.

(To be continued.)

RECENT FOREIGN LITERATURE.

THE hot summer would have made novels exceedingly welcome, and even the severest of critics would have been in a lenient mood towards them. But novels of interest have been sadly lacking both in France and Germany during the last three months. Henry Bordeaux, from whose books pleasure is to be expected, has managed in 'Le Carnet d'un stagiaire. Scènes de la vie judiciaire,' to be almost dull. It consists of a number of short stories, each of which deals with some quite uninteresting experience in the professional life of a lawyer. Marcelle Tinayre, in 'La douceur de vivre,' tells a sad tale in beautiful language, but counteracts the charm of fine literary style by the introduction of an erotic episode quite needless to the main story, and described in unpleasant detail. 'Isabelle,' by André Gide, is marked by all the beauty of this author's style, especially in the vivid and arresting description of an old-world country house in a remote corner of Normandy. But every one of the characters is abnormal in body or mind, or in both, and the dénouement is unpleasingly cynical. Indeed, without the setting the story would scarcely be read with patience, In 'Une âme de vingt ans,' Daniel Lesueur tells three short

stories, of which 'Le torrent d'écume' is the best. The scene of events is the Lake of Como, near Varenna. The heroine is a native of the district, the hero a French artist, and the stuff is woven of love and jealousy, and smuggling and exciting adventure, quite possible even in these prosaic times in the many small villages still unspoilt by tourists, that may be found on the shores of that romantic and enchanting lake.

Several German novels have come into my hands. 'Du und ich,' by Otto Overhof, is a kind of rhapsody on artist folk. There is the usual struggle of a woman who is a wife and mother between her wifely and maternal duties and her work as a successful and celebrated painter. The moorland setting is attractive, and the character of the heroine's father, who remains faithful to his dead wife, is excellently drawn. Light and pleasant reading may be found in 'Vom blühenden Da-sein,' by El-Correï. The volume contains ten short stories, which are studies of character, either of men, or dogs, or cats. Many of the scenes are laid in Italian towns. Paul Graben's 'Die Herren der Erde,' a novel of mining life, is particularly interesting at the present time. The hero is the owner of big coal mines. A strike of the miners takes place, and the novelist's handling of the affair is so admirable, that more may be learned from such a novel about the relations of employer and employed than from a course of the leading articles of our newspapers. The events are described with remarkable vividness and impartiality, and while the risks and needs of the workers are never

underrated, it is clearly shown that the employer and capitalist has by no means the easy time so often imputed to him by those ignorant of the difficulties of carrying on a big undertaking. It is a novel that should be read carefully by all interested in these problems, and who in these days is not?

In 'L'attitude du lyrisme contemporaine,' Tancrède de Visan has produced a thoughtful study of lyrical poetry in France at the present time. It is an essay preliminary to a long treatise on the genesis and tendencies of contemporary 'lyrisme' in France. Here, by way of experiment, he shows (1) in what the ideal of contemporary poets differs from the ideal of those of the first half of the nineteenth century; (2) how the contemporary poets of whom he treats, in spite of their individualism and originality, all possess, even though it may be indistinctly, two or three essential principles which unite them in a common æsthetic; and (3) in what degree this æsthetic forms part of the leading tendencies of our contemporary mentality, and realises in lyrical poetry the ideal common to the different manifestations of intellectual activity. The poet of to-day leaves aside the abstract and tries to express 'le ruisseau avec les murmures, le matin avec ses brumes et ses fraîcheurs, la forêt avec son mystère, la joie et la douleur dans leur spontanéité vivante et leurs accents vrais.'

'Notre art n'est pas un art de lignes et de sphères.'

De Visan chooses a few poets, and tries to bring out the particular quality of the 'lyrisme' of each. Francis Vielé-Griffin 'rend l'idée sensible au cœur,' and his 'idée' is life or creative activity. Instead

of analysing his thoughts, he sings them, and possesses a full measure of the characteristics of all lyric poetry—simplicity, sensuousness, and passion. His art illustrates Brunetière's dictum that symbolism is the re-integration of 'l'idée' in poetry.

The poetry of Henri de Régnier illustrates what may be called 'la vision centrale.' Nature is a vast reservoir of sensations, and the artist chooses from them those that seem to him the most representative. But Régnier, in fact, symbolises the two kinds of vision, 'la vision périphérique et la vision centrale,' and is by turn romantic, Parnassian, and symbolist.

In the essay on Maeterlinck we get a definition of symbolisism that may help us a little to grasp a way of thought that enters so largely into contemporary literature. 'Le symbolisme est d'abord un grand souffle de liberté, et ensuite un mode de vision spécial qui colore chaque objet à la lumière de nos états d'âme.' But perhaps this is only another way of stating that all lyric verse is the outcome of the poet's temperament and moods.

Maurice Barrès and André Gide are both characterised as 'professeurs de lyrisme.' While Barrès is a collectivist, Gide is an individualist, who, like Madame Bovary, is ever striving to be something other than he is, and lives in a perpetual state of uneasiness.

Another essay contrasts German and French romanticism. The former, according to De Visan, is based on idealism, the latter on liberty in art and the exaltation of the imagination. In both, however, is to be found a similar reaction against

naturalism, a similar æsthetic basis, that is, idealism and intuition. In both are found similar rhythmical researches, similar reforms in prosody, similar love for folk-lore and the popular song.

Biography in pieces, so to speak, does not, as a rule, commend itself to me; but André Tibal, in 'Hebbel sa vie et ses œuvres de 1813 à 1845,' deals exclusively with Hebbel the poet. Most of Hebbel's critics forget the poet in the philosopher. Now Hebbel regarded philosophy as a function of poetry, and poetry, as he so often declared, is form. It is a poet's gift to be able to create a life as individual, a reality as sensible, as the life and reality around us. But Hebbel set form above content. The most extraordinary ideas, he asserts, are only new for a quarter of an hour. Tibal attempts to show how these views were born and developed in the first thirty years of Hebbel's existence.

Interest in Verlaine's personality will, I suppose, never cease; but it seems scarcely necessary to fill a volume about his last days on earth. Those who are curious on the subject will find all the information they need in 'Les derniers jours de Paul Verlaine. Nombreux documents et dessins avec une préface de Maurice Barrès.' The authors are F. A. Cazals and Gustave le Rouge. But with it all, not much new light is thrown on Verlaine's work. We are told that he was the victim of his own genius, and that he possessed by nature a sort of sensibility which enchants us, but which conceals death within itself. The golden apple which the fairy put in his cradle was poisoned. The metaphor

certainly explains the peculiarities of Verlaine's poetical gift.

David Garrick's cosmopolitanism is brought out in 'Un acteur cosmopolite. David Garrick et ses amis Français,' by F. A. Hedgcock, to whose study of Thomas Hardy we drew attention in the last number of 'THE LIBRARY.' Garrick had almost as many intelligent admirers and warm friends in France as in his own land, and his close relations with them lasted all his life. This book deals specially with that side of the great actor's career, and goes into careful details concerning his journeys and sojourns in France. A reproduction of Liotard's portrait of Garrick, painted in Paris, forms the frontispiece.

French literature of the present day is particularly strong in history, both political and social. Alfred Franklin, in 'La vie privée au temps des premiers capétiens,' gives a fascinating account of the social conditions of French life in the thirteenth century. The founder of the dynasty of the Capets was neither a clever politician nor a valiant soldier, nor was his wife endowed with eminent qualities. But their posterity is not yet extinct, and they furnished a succession of thirty-five kings who governed France well or ill for ten centuries, and formed French national unity. There was never wanting a male heir to take his father's place. The author's purpose is to draw

'd'une société peu raffinée, mais déjà avide de luxe et de plaisirs, un tableau aussi exact que possible, la reconstituer avec ses habitudes, ses mœurs, ses modes, ses vertus et ses vices, en un mot décrire sa vie privée.'

Research shows that it was not, as is commonly thought, a period of barbarism. The humblest worker had his rights clearly set forth in the statutes of the trade or occupation he had chosen. The 'Corporations ouvrières' were never organized in a more democratic fashion than in the thirteenth century. Domestic servants, both men and women, were kindly treated. Justice was, it is true, not the same for all classes, but it was not as a rule rendered only by the king himself, nor under an oak. There existed a formal criminal and civil procedure which was rarely ignored. In spite of the difficulties of travelling, the East sent fine stuffs and spices, and the Parisians were not obliged to be extraordinarily wealthy to be able to eat fairly fresh sea-water fish. A crowd of students from all parts rallied round the professors at the different universities. Good libraries were everywhere accessible, and we should not forget that it was at the end of the thirteenth century that the Sainte-Chapelle, that masterpiece of Gothic art, was built. This is truly a delightful book, and with it in our hands we can reconstruct in detail the social life of the period.

An equally interesting book, though in a different way, is Edmond Lepelletier's 'Histoire de la Commune de 1871. Le dix-huit mars.' It has for motto 'l'histoire est une Résurrection, a dit Michelet; elle est aussi une Révision.' It is a sort of fragment, but of no mean size, of a large work to appear later, entitled 'Révoltes et Guerres Civiles.' The purpose of the book before us is to show that republican France of the twentieth century

would never have existed without the events of 1871. In spite of its aristocratic and bourgeois repugnance to accept such a filiation, the mother of the third French republic is the Commune of Paris of 1871. The author was an eye-witness of the events he relates. The available works on the Commune (18th March to the last days of May) are really only fragments of history. It is generally regarded as an isolated event, whereas it had its precedents, and its preliminaries, and its roots can only be found in searching the past.

But the preface is perhaps the most attractive part of the book. It is a veritable treatise on rebellion, on civil war in general. Lepelletier finds that historians do not, as a rule, treat such events with sympathy, whether they are dealing with an insurrection in the family for personal independence, for an inheritance, for a marriage, or with fighting round palaces, or under the ramparts of cities, for the conquest of power, for emancipation from slavery, for a change of government. Everyone who has written on the French Revolution has deplored its 'excesses.' But revolutionary phenomena ought to be stated and explained with the same scientific accuracy and the same impartiality as a seismic disturbance or the eruption of a volcano. All social progress has 'insurrection' for its basis. Insurrection, according to Lepelletier, is a proof of vitality, futurity, and hope. By this light alone does he consider that the history of civil wars should be written and studied.

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The following recently published books deserve attention :—

Les Anglais à Paris, 1800-50. Par Roger Boutet de Monvel.

Chiefly compiled from English books of memoirs, but contains some information hidden in out-of-the-way French books, dealing with society in Paris at the period treated.

Études sur le XVIIIe siècle. Par Ferdinand Brunetière.

This contains the first chapters of a book Brunetière had undertaken to write on Voltaire. There is a short essay on Voltaire himself, and others on 'Les Philosophes et la société française,' and 'Les origines de l'espirit encyclopédique.'

Lamennais et le Saint-siège, 1820-34. D'après des documents inédits et les Archives du Vatican. Par Paul Dudor.

A sketch, as exact and clear as possible, of Lamennais' relations with Rome, written for the purpose of showing what a man of genius lost in grandeur and strength by not remaining a papist.

Victoria I., Édouard VII., Georges V. Par Jaques Bardoux.

An interesting study of the lives and characters of these monarchs from a French point of view.

Le peste de 1720 à Marseille et en France. D'après des documents inédits. Par Paul Gaffarel et M. de Duranty.

The documents on which this book is based have never before been used in this way or for this purpose. It should be remembered that it was the plague at Marseilles that probably inspired Defoe's 'Journal of the Plague.'

Un frère d'armes de Montalembert. Adolphe Dechamps (1807-75).

A Belgian statesman too little remembered. A volume in the excellent series published by 'l'Ecole des Sciences politiques et sociales de l'université de Louvain.'

Le modernisme Bouddhiste et le Bouddhisme de Bouddha. Par Alexandre David.

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Villon et Rabelais. Notes et Commentaires. Par Louis Thuasne.

Studies that will form the basis for a national definitive and critical edition of the earliest French modern poet and the earliest French prose writer.

Geschichte der Englischen Romantik. Von Helene Richter.

The first volume of an elaborate work on the subject. It is entitled 'Die Anfänge der Romantik'; it contains a careful study of Goldsmith, and chapters on the revival of Shakespeare, on ballad literature and Percy's Reliques, on the supernatural in the novel (H. Walpole, Clara Reeve, Mrs. Radcliffe), and on poetical forgeries (Chatterton). The volumes to follow will deal respectively with 'Die Blüte der Romantik,' and 'Die Klassiker der Romantik' (Keats, Shelley, Byron, Scott).

ELIZABETH LEE.

REVIEWS.

Illuminated Manuscripts. By J. A. Herbert. Methuen & Co. (The Connoisseur's Library. General Editor: Cyril Davenport.) pp. xiv., 356. With 51 plates.

MR. HERBERT'S book on Illuminated Manuscripts, by its excellent balance and proportion, recalls the old ideal of the British Museum Library, to represent the literature of every other country more adequately than it could be found represented anywhere save in that country itself. It is impossible for the general historian to write at the length or with the detail and intimacy which may be expected from the specialist who devotes himself to a single school, but Mr. Herbert writes of one school after another with as complete a mastery of its characteristics as is possible for anyone who has not specialised on it, and the result is a general history of illuminated manuscripts, which may confidently be claimed as the best and most comprehensive in any language. To one class, and one class only, will his book bring heavy disappointment—the collectors who never get beyond (or rather behind) the shop-made

French MSS., mainly Horae, of the fifteenth century, and worse still, of the early sixteenth. 'Specimens of these "shop copies,"' writes Mr. Herbert, 'may be seen in nearly every library in Europe, and form the nucleus of most private collections, being comparatively easy to acquire, and at the same time pleasing to behold.' In little more than half a page he sums up the characteristics of the better ones, and then proceeds serenely, 'Of work of a higher class there is enough to fill many chapters,' and begins to talk of Pol de Limbourg and his brothers and the 'très riches heures,' which they painted for the Duc de Berri, of the Bedford and the Sobieski Horae, and of Jean Foucquet, of whom he writes that he 'fell into neglect for nearly three centuries, but has been amply rehabilitated in recent years,' though the 'amply' does not lead up, as we rather thought it might, to any deprecation of the Foucquet cult.

By not worrying over the collector of French shop-work Mr. Herbert has been able to lay a good foundation by devoting separate chapters to classical, early Christian, and Byzantine illumination, to which last, indeed, he allows more pages than to any other chapter in his book. His fourth chapter deals with Celtic work, and we had half hoped to find some encouragement for our private heresy that the much-praised Celtic ornament is just as 'barbaric' in its dexterity, just as far removed from any true standard of beauty, as the Celtic figure-drawing in all its uncouthness. Like everyone else, however, Mr. Herbert is content to contrast the two, instead of treating them as

complementary one of the other, and he almost makes us forgive him by the extraordinary skill with which he describes and classifies the ornament. In the subsequent chapter on the Carolingian Renaissance, he mainly follows the late Dr. Janitschek, though with due note of the protests of M. Leprieur that the three manuscripts 'based on all that was best in classical art,' which Janitschek places at the beginning of the renaissance, were all executed after Charlemagne's death. Through the Carolingian school at Rheims, we get to the famous 'Utrecht' Psalter, and thence to the delightful English outline drawings of the eleventh century, mainly executed at Winchester. These are well illustrated by a plate from the Newminster 'Liber Vitae,' showing S. Peter welcoming the righteous to heaven with hospitable hilarity, and prodding with his double-key the head of a sturdy devil who is trying to steal a nice little soul. Another illustration to the same chapter, from Cotton MS. Tib. C.VI., shows a splendid S. Michael transfixing a too submissive dragon, and the plates to each of the three later chapters, dealing with English work, do full justice to its achievements. In much of what he writes on this subject Mr. Herbert naturally follows the same lines as Sir E. M. Thompson in his pages in 'Bibliographica,' but in the last sixteen years new ground has been broken, and Mr. Herbert has the privilege of telling, for the first time in any general history, the full story of the East Anglian school of the early fourteenth century, which produced some of the finest English Psalters. From about

the middle of the century, when this school, after showing some signs of decadence, suddenly died out—probably owing to the Black Death of 1348—there is for some forty years a great dearth of good English work. That the brief revival at the end of the century was due to the influence of foreign artists arriving with Anne of Bohemia in 1382 had been already conjectured, and Mr. Herbert reports a confirmation of the theory in a discovery by Sir George Warner of Low German inscriptions in the great Bible of Richard II., among the Royal MSS. in the Museum.

Alternating with these chapters on English work are two on German, French, and Flemish illumination, from 900 to 1200, and again in the thirteenth century, after which Germany becomes negligible; another on Italian illumination before 1300, which begins with a clear indication of the reasons for its slight importance; and a very interesting chapter on Illustrations of the Apocalypse, in which this favourite subject is traced from its first rough treatment in Spain to the fine achievements of France and England. Mr. Herbert does not hesitate to say, without reservation, 'the best thirteenth century Apocalypse manuscripts are of English origin,' and perhaps generally up to 1300, as between France and England, honours may be considered to have been equal. But interesting as we may find the East Anglian school and the revival after the coming of Anne of Bohemia, when pitted against the genius with which the French illuminators changed one excellence for another during the fourteenth and early fifteenth

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century, they left England far behind in the competition, and the English nobles who fought and lived in France under Henry V. and VI. patronised French artists and allowed illumination in England to perish for lack of encouragement. Thus all of the last five chapters in Mr. Herbert's book are devoted to foreign work—two to France, two to Italy, and one to Flanders.

To the knowledge and sense of proportion which has enabled him to use the space at his disposal so successfully, Mr. Herbert has joined an admirable general style, and a command of simple technical terms which give his descriptions an enviable neatness and lucidity. When writing of two exquisite little Paris Psalters closely connected with S. Louis, he notes:

Both books are remarkable, among other things, for their exquisite architectural backgrounds, consisting in every instance of two or four bays of a Gothic interior, with gables, wheel or quatrefoil windows, and fretted arcadings and pinnacles above; forming as it were a scenic setting before which the personages of Bible-history play their parts like actors in the miracle-plays, which were actually performed in churches. These personages indeed, full of that gentle and ingenuous gaiety of which Gothic painters held the secret, seem less historical characters than the delighted actors of a pious play. One thinks of a Morality, or of the 'Gestes' of Moses, Abraham, or Solomon, not of the solemn periods of the Vulgate text. The grave, ascetic faces met with in paintings of the time of Philip Augustus are replaced by gentler, more rounded and cheerful types; showing how the simple and joyous spirit of S. Francis, 'the little troubadour of God,' had

penetrated to the arts, and banished the awe and terror with which the older miniaturists approached the sacred mysteries.

To possess so general and accurate knowledge of so wide a field, and to be able to produce it in so clear and pleasant a style, make a very enviable combination. Mr. Herbert has written a fine book, and one which will not easily be displaced.

Catalogue raisonné des premières impressions de Mayence (1445-67). *Par Seymour de Ricci. Veroffentlichungen der Gutenberg-Gesellschaft. VIII.-IX. Mainz.* 1911. *pp. ix.*, 166.

Mr. Seymour de Ricci's register of the past and present ownership of all recorded copies of the first hundred pieces of printing connected with Mainz possesses all the merits of his 'Census of Caxtons,' and makes a much larger new contribution to knowledge. It was high time that the information given by Blades as to copies of Caxton's should be revised and supplemented, and a new point of departure taken. Still the information given by Blades was considerable, and his plough went pretty well round the field, though not always very deeply. In his present book Mr. de Ricci has for the most part broken new ground, previous attempts to enumerate copies having only been made in the case of the 42-line Bible, the Catholicon and quite a few other books and documents. The basis of the arrangement adopted

is by types. Type 1, that called after the 36-line Bible, in its four states covers 33 impressions, the last ten being printed at Bamberg by Albrecht Pfister. Type 2, that called after the 42-line Bible, covers the Bible, liturgical Psalter, ten Donatuses, and the Coronatio Maximiliani of 1486, Nos. 34-46. Types 3-5, used in the two Indulgences of 1454-55, cover the four editions of the one and three of the other, already enumerated by Dr. Hessels, Nos. 47-53. Types 6, 7, were used for the Psalters of 1457 and 1459, and the five editions of 1490-1516, also for the separately printed Canon Missae of 1458, and for the canons in thirteen missals printed during 1483-1513, here counted as one, altogether Nos. 54-62. Type 7[b], a variety of the small Psalter type, covers the 'Missale speciale' and 'Missale speciale abbreviatum,' of which so much was heard a dozen years ago, Nos. 63-64. Types 8 and 9, the Durandus and 1462-Bible types, cover between them twenty-five books and documents printed by Fust and Schoeffer in the year 1459-1466, Nos. 65-89. Type 10, that of the Catholicon of 1460, accounts for seven impressions, including the first two Eltvil editions of the Vocabularius Ex quo, Nos. 90-96. Types 11, 12, are the later Eltvil types, used for two more editions of the Vocabularius, the 'Summa de articulis fidei' and an indulgence, Nos. 97-100. It will thus be seen that Mr. de Ricci's plan is to follow the use of the types even when employed elsewhere than at Mainz, or at Mainz beyond the limits of the fifteenth century. The crowd of Donatus fragments, hardly any of them known to Hain and

only a few to Copinger, are for the most part unique; only in two or three cases have different fragments of the same edition been recovered. The various calendars are in much the same case, the indulgences and the various briefs and bulls of 1461 and 1462 being only a little less rare. Of the Psalter of 1457 ten copies are known, of that of 1459 thirteen; of the later editions only about four apiece can now be traced, though it is probable that a good many more may have escaped record. Of the Missals, those of Breslau are the most common, while of those for Cracow, Meissen and Gnesen only three or four copies apiece are known. Of the Bibles, Mr. de Ricci has traced to their present home thirteen copies of the 36-line, forty-one of the 42-line, sixty-one of that of 1462; of the Catholicon he knows of sixty-five. In the case of all these high-priced books the list of 'exemplaires disparus' is strikingly long, often holding out the possibility of another 50 per cent. being added to the copies known, though the possibility is very unlikely indeed to be realised, even in the most fragmentary form.

Turning to statistics of another kind, we find the Bibliothèque Nationale holding the pride of place with as many as sixty-eight references, the British Museum coming second with fifty-nine. Berlin has thirty-two references, Munich twenty-seven, the John Rylands library thirty-one, Bodley twenty, Cambridge thirteen; Mr. Hoe and Mr. Huth six apiece, Mr. Morgan thirteen.

Statistics being fascinating we have busied ourselves mostly with these, but Mr. de Ricci has

not contented himself with registering and describing copies—he gives useful bibliographical references to the best sources of information as to each piece of printing he describes, and epitomises much of this information in his text. Here and there, moreover, he offers valuable notes from his own observation. Thus he has applied to the Donatus of thirty-five lines 'per Petrum de gernszheym in vrbe Moguntina cum suis capitalibus absque calami exaratione effigiatus' the results of Herr Wallau's examination of the Psalter capitals, and finds that the P which was perfect in the Psalter of 1457 is here broken, and that the C has the breaks which were caused during the printing of the Psalter of 1459. If this be so, the Donatus must be later than both these books, later also than the death of Fust, with whom Schoeffer worked continuously from 1457 to 1466, and thus some ten years later than the date 1456 recently claimed for it by Dr. Hessels, a matter of no small interest.

Old English Libraries, the making, collection, and use of books during the Middle Ages. By Ernest A. Savage. With fifty-two illustrations. Methuen & Co. pp. xv., 298.

In the opening sentence of his preface Mr. Savage explains that (despite its title) 'with the arrangement and equipment of libraries this essay has little to do, the ground being already covered adequately by Dr. Clark in his admirable monograph on "The Care of Books."' For his own

subject he has taken 'the making, use and circulation of books considered as a means of literary culture,' and round about this topic he has gathered a really considerable amount of information, which he has handled very pleasantly and easily in his text. Not content with this he has compiled three really valuable appendixes—(a) a series of notes of prices of books and materials for bookmaking, each with its date; (b) a list of certain classic authors found in medieval catalogues; (c) a list of medieval collection of books, this also being dated. The first of these appendixes might have been extended with the aid of papers by Abbot Gasquet and Mr. Plomes read before the Bibliographical Society, but all three are of considerable length, and each forms a nucleus which any specialist can extend as much as opportunities permit. Mr. Savage's book thus appeals both to the general reader and to the expert, and being most liberally illustrated should have a prosperous career.

The National Library of Wales. Report of the Council on the progress of the library from April, 1909, *to September*, 1910. *Aberystwith.* 1911. *pp. v.*, 68.

National Library of Wales. Catalogue of Tracts of the Civil War and Commonwealth period relating to Wales and the Borders. Aberystwith. 1911. *pp. ix.*, 85.

Both these publications testify in various ways to the rapid strides which under the guidance of Mr. Ballinger the National Library has already

made during its short existence. In May, 1910, the valuable collection of books and manuscripts made by Mr. E. H. Owen, of Ty Coch, near Carnarvon, was acquired by purchase, and there are long lists of manuscripts and books presented by numerous friends of the library and shorter ones of individual purchases, with illustrations of a few of the rarities. The collection of Civil War tracts relating to Wales is at present only a small one, comprising 264 separate pieces, but it is already representative, and as all librarians know from the point of view of the library, a catalogue of an incomplete collection is far more useful than of a complete one, since it attracts donations and facilitates purchases. The titles are set out in full, or with very little abridgment, and the excellence of the printing reflects great credit on the National Library's private press.

A. W. P.

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